

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 5TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



"The land hath bubbles, as the water hath;
"And these are of them!"

LAND-JOBGING.

TO THE FARMERS, LABOURERS, AND
MECHANICS OF ENGLAND;

*To those who get their living, not by
trick of any sort, but by industry;
and particularly by labour.*

Normandy, 29. June 1834.

MY COUNTRYMEN,

PERCEIVING that there is a scheme on foot, of a very extensive and plausible nature, favoured too by our wise Ministers, for settling a new colony, and that a society has been formed for the purpose of enticing people to go thither, I shall devote this whole *Register* to the exposure of this scheme; and I shall, perhaps, publish a large edition, as a separate pamphlet, which I shall sell by retail for *threepence*; and in the hope that many gentlemen will have public spirit enough to distribute it at their own expense, when they see the ruin that it may occasion to many inoffensive and meritorious persons, I shall sell them at sixteen shillings and eightpence a hundred.

I have perhaps more knowledge of this matter than falls to the lot of any man besides myself, having seen a new colony settled, and being intimately acquainted with all the circumstances attending such settlements; having known intimately of scores of new settlements in the United States; having seen return penniless and in rags thousands upon thousands of those who had sought in the wilderness those "*fine estates*" and

that "*immense opulence*," so eloquently described by Mr. WHITMORE, in his speech on the emigration clause of the Poor-law Bill. At the end of this article I shall insert my two letters to Mr. MORRIS BIRKBECK, which will afford a striking instance of the ruin consequent upon listening to land-jobbers. But first of all let me insert the prospectus of a company, a joint-stock company, that is formed for the purpose of making this new colony; or rather their advertisement for a meeting to be held next Monday, whereat to begin their works, which though their intentions may not be wicked, will, in whatever degree they shall succeed, be productive of ruin to every person who shall venture either person or purse in this undertaking; that is to say, every one who shall give his money for lands to be sold by this company; and every one who shall suffer his person to be carried to the damnable colony. The advertisement, of which I have been speaking, is as follows:

NEW COLONY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

PUBLIC MEETING.—A Bill having been brought into Parliament under the sanction of his Majesty's Government, for founding a colony in South Australia, and authorizing his Majesty to appoint commissioners for the disposal of public lands and the management of emigration, there will be held on Monday next, 30. of June, in the Great Room at Exeter Hall, at eleven o'clock, a Meeting of the Members and Friends of the South Australian Association, for the purpose of explaining the principles, objects, plan, and prospects of the new colony;

WILLIAM WOLRYCHE WHITMORE, Esq., M.P.,
in the Chair.

Seats will be reserved for ladies. The chair to be taken at twelve o'clock precisely.

Committee of the South Australian Association.

W.W. Whitmore, Esq., M.P., Chairman.

Aubrey Beauclerk, Esq., M.P.

Abraham Borradaile, Esq.

Charles Buller, Esq., M.P.

Henry L. Bulwer, Esq., M.P.

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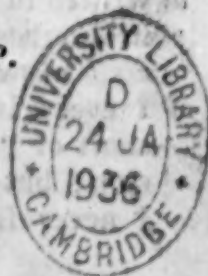
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Treasurer, G. Grote, Esq., M.P.; Solicitor,
 Jos. Parkes, Esq.; Hon. Secretary, R. Genger,
 Esq.

Information concerning the new colony may
 be obtained at the office of the South Australia
 Association, No. 7, John-street, Adelphi.

A work on the subject of the colony is in
 the press, entitled, "The New British Pro-
 vince of South Australia; or, a Description of
 the Country, illustrated by Charts and Views,
 and an Account of the Principles, Objects,
 Plans, and Prospects of the New Colony;"
 and will be published by Charles Knight,
 Ludgate-hill, price 3s. bound in cloth.

Oh! Mr. CHARLES KNIGHT will have
 the "CHARTS" and "VIEWS"! I
 never saw an American land-jobber pull
 out his portfolio without wishing my-
 self a despot, in order that I might apply
 a pound of Russian hemp to the villain's
 neck. While I published a newspaper
 in PHILADELPHIA I had several offers of
 large shares of tracts of country for no-
 thing if I would but recommend En-
 glishmen to settle on them. While I was
 in LONG ISLAND one man of the name
 of ROSE, and another of the name of
 LEWIS, the last of whom was an English-
 man, and had been settled many years in
 America, offered me a large share in
 lands which they had to sell in PENN-
 SYLVANIA, if I would recommend their
 settlements in my *Register*, which was
 written in Long Island, and published
 in England. To Mr. LEWIS I gave a
 civil answer; to no other of them did
 I ever give such answer in my life;
 short of "*roguish scoundrel*" I might
 stop; but if I did not utter the words
 I never failed to utter the meaning.

About two years ago, I think it was, a
 very plausible and well-dressed gentle-
 man, who had "always, with increas-
 ing admiration, been a reader of my
 "writings," came to me at *Bolt-court*,
 and told me the following story; namely,
 that he had lived several years at WASH-
 INGTON, and was well acquainted with
 official persons there; that the chief
 land agent of the Government of the
 United States was his intimate friend;
 that this land agent, in his surveys, noted
 down the particular parts where the
 very best land was; that he (*my constant
 reader*) had thus, by looking at the
 memoranda of his friend, got possession
 of the invaluable secret; and that he had
 brought the particulars to England and
 was ready to mark out and sell these
 very best of the lands at the common
 price, which the Congress demanded
 for all the lands indiscriminately. Hav-
 ing heard from me some little boggling
 with regard to the morality of the mode
 by which he got possession of this va-
 luable information, he was a little em-
 barrassed at first, but soon resumed his
 brazen audacity, observing, that his
 friend gave him the book to look at
 without reservation of the use that he
 might put it to; said that there was
 nothing dishonourable in it; expressed
 a hope that I would further his views,
 as no man could do it so effectually;
 was "*well aware of my disinterested-
 ness*"; but that services of this sort
 "ought to have their reward as well
 "as other services; and that lands to
 "almost any limit upon the very best
 "spots were at my service; OR," said
 he, "if you do not think it consistent with
 "your character and station to accept of
 "the compensation yourself, you," (put-
 ting a simper upon his countenance for
 which he ought to have been smitten
 dead upon the spot), "Mr. CONNERT,
 have sons"! "G—d— you,"
 said I. "What! save my soul from
 "the devil, by making my sons rogues
 "instead of myself." Getting up from
 the table I desired him not to trouble
 me again, and off he went.

Oh! he had his "*charts*" and his
 "*views*": here wide flowing rivers;
 there meandering mill streams; here

natural basins upon a hill to hold water to turn eternal manufactories; here beds of salt; there beds of coal; so that, if I had not known what the rogues were, I should have been lost in wonder, that any people in their senses could remain in a beggarly country like England.

Now, though I do not believe that the projectors of this scheme, amongst whom there are nineteen members of Parliament it seems; though I do not believe that any one of them is a rogue to this extent; and do not believe in fact, that any one of them has a roguish view; I have not the smallest scruple to say, that, as far as relates to this matter, a set of greater fools never were assembled together under the sun. I will accuse none of them of an endeavour to delude people; to get their money out of their pockets and to send them to perish, or at the very least to ruin; but in whatever degree they shall succeed in their project I am sure they will effect these ends; and I know it to be my duty, however reluctant I am to do it, to warn people against the delusion.

This is the more necessary to be done without loss of time, because there are places to be kept for "the ladies" at EXETER HALL! What the "ladies" can have to do with clearing lands I do not know. They have influence however, when money is to be got out of their husbands' pockets; and many of them have a taste for those "parks," those "extensive grounds," those numerous natural "Virginia-waters," which will be found in "Southern Australia"; more properly called, *New Botany Bay*. Therefore the presence of the "ladies" may be appropriate enough.

As a specimen of the newspaper puffs, which are coming forth to further the views of this society, I take the following from the "*True Sun*"; the author of which puff pleads hard in favour of the delusion. I insert it as a specimen, though it is only a little beginning in the great work, it is, indeed, this puff which has brought me forth upon the subject. The author of the puff is extremely anxious to have the

"ladies" with him. I suppose, that a pretty many thousands of pounds will be laid out on the press to get this delusion into wide circulation. I cannot destroy the delusion; but I can do this; I can prevent it from ruining the greater part of those industrious and good people, who would be totally ruined by it were I to hold my tongue. Here follows the puff; preceding the meeting at EXETER HALL.

"Lord Bacon calls the plantation of a colony 'an heroic work.' He may be supposed, with his wonderful foresight, to have had a prophetic eye to that great and happy nation on the other side of the Atlantic, which has furnished Europe with the first, nay, the sole example of cheap and equal government. Without emigration, the United States could not have existed. The names of Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson, are English. It was amongst a people, the immediate offspring of English emigrants, that Lafayette, to use the words of Washington, 'served an apprenticeship to liberty, till he had learned enough to go home and set up for himself.' The out-going of Englishmen to settle in America has had an immense, and most beneficial influence on the politics of Europe. Nor is this all; for it would be easy to show that a great portion of the foreign commerce of this country, of that trade which enables us to obtain thousands of useful and agreeable objects not producible here, took its rise from measures of colonization. As a means, then, of extending the empire of civilization over the globe, and creating new markets wherein to sell the products of domestic industry, it appears to us that emigration, or rather colonization, is an excellent thing. These remarks are suggested by the project now before the public, of a new colony in Australia. The South Australian Association, of whose acting committee a list will be found in our advertising columns, have been long engaged in forming the plan which is now to be carried into effect with the sanction of Gov-

"vernment. And here we must do Mr.
 "Spring Rice the justice to acknow-
 "ledge that he *deserves praise* for
 "readily promoting a useful and na-
 "tional undertaking, which was *bitterly*
 "opposed by Lord Ripon, and regarded
 "with indifference by the *ignorant and*
 "conceited ex-secretary for the colonies.
 "With the details of the measure we
 "are not at all acquainted; nor could
 "we, in the space of a daily paper, give
 "a satisfactory explanation of the ge-
 "neral principles on which the scheme
 "is based. But an opportunity of
 "learning both the principles and de-
 "tails of the measure will be presented
 "on Monday next, when the South
 "Australian Association will explain
 "their objects to a public meeting, in
 "the great room Exeter Hall. *This*
 "looks well. Those who seek publicity
 "cannot intend much wrong, but must,
 "we may almost say, be actuated by
 "good intentions. The great job of the
 "petty Swan River affair was managed
 "in secret. There was no publicity
 "until after Mr. Peel, the cousin of Sir
 "Robert, had secured his own grant of
 "500,000 acres of land; which grant,
 "by the way, and other profuse grants
 "which were made to meet the charge
 "of partiality, proved ruinous to the
 "colony. In this case, where the chief
 "actors themselves call for a public
 "examination of their doings, there
 "cannot well be any jobbing. The
 "names of the committee are a further
 "guarantee, not only of good intentions,
 "but of sound judgment and earnest
 "carefulness in the preparation of the
 "enterprise. Mr. WHITMORE, Mr.
 "GROTE, Mr. CLAY, and several others,
 "are not the sort of men to engage in a
 "wild or crude scheme. One part of
 "the measure contemplates, we under-
 "stand, the providing of a passage cost
 "free, for a large body of the working
 "class. Sympathizing deeply with that
 "class, and rejoicing in the prospect of
 "a road whereby many of them may
 "find their way to the high wages and
 "cheap land, which are the attributes
 "of well-managed colonies, we are
 "anxious to point out to them that by
 "attending the meeting on Monday

"next (the room will hold four thousand
 "persons), they may at least satisfy
 "their curiosity on a subject in which
 "none have a deeper interest. And we
 "would say, further, to *heads of fami-*
 "*lies* and to *young men*, who may wish
 "to learn more concerning the objects
 "and plan of the new colony, that
 "*their wives and daughters*, their
 "*sisters and sweethearts*, may also have
 "some curiosity on the subject. In
 "colonization *the women* are of quite as
 "much importance at least as the men,
 "and in deciding a question of emigra-
 "tion, their voice has often more
 "weight. To hear religious discussion
 "Exeter Hall is often crowded with
 "females. Why not to hear about a
 "new country, which cannot be peopled
 "as it ought to be, unless nearly as
 "many women as men shall decide to
 "make it their future home? There
 "are some who will smile at this sug-
 "gestion. We wish them joy of their
 "ignorance and want of good feeling;
 "adding, that the suggestion is not
 "ours, but that of the association, who
 "announce that '*seats will be reserved*
 "*for ladies.*'"

This is at once as audacious and as
 silly a puff, as I ever set my eyes on.
 Puffs are seldom very delicate things;
 but this is the grossest, silliest, meanest,
 that I ever saw; the writer, in a sort of
 preface which I have not inserted, con-
 fesses, or rather, says, that he has al-
 ways been inimical to emigration, and
 he forgets to tell us precisely *what it is*
 that has made him in favour of this
 project: *what it is* that has converted
 him all at once! Something of won-
 drous power no doubt; that we must
 conclude; but still one would have liked
 to know precisely what it was, pre-
 cisely the amount of it. As to what
 Lord BACON says upon the subject;
 and as to WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN, and
 JEFFERSON, having grown out of a
 colony; all that this public-spirited and
 disinterested editor knew, and still he
 was hostile to emigration, until, all at
 once, this new association appeared:
 and then the gentleman changes his
 mind in the twinkling of an eye.

He even finds it becoming him to

praise Mr. SPRING RICE, for lending the powers of the Government to aid the brilliant schemes of this joint-stock association. He "*must* do justice to Mr. SPRING RICE," and he must do justice to Mr. STANLEY and Lord RYPON, by hinting that the latter was an obstinate fool, and by calling Mr. STANLEY ignorant and conceited. He must do justice; and as he must do justice to others, why not do justice to himself; and tell us at once what it is, and how much there was of it, that converted him from an anti-emigrator, to call upon the ladies, even upon the daughters, sisters, and sweethearts, to go to Exeter-Hall to give countenance to this most delusive project. Why not tell us at once, how much of that same sort of thing would induce him to turn from *Southern Australia* to the swamps of CANADA, the rocks of NOVA SCOTIA, or the bottomless sands of PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND; to make him exclaim, "Come, ladies, to enable you to lead happy lives and roll about in your carriages, believe me, upon my sacred honour, there is nothing like sand"!

He tells us "that Messrs. WHITMORE, GROTE, and CLAY, are not the sort of men to engage in a wild or crude scheme." Not *wild* or *crude* for *themselves*, I will engage. I will be bound for them that they will lose nothing by the scheme. The two former are bankers, I believe; and I think the latter is a shipowner, or something of that sort. I dare say that they have made their calculations very accurately, as to the gain or loss which they shall experience in this affair. As far as they are concerned, the scheme may not be wild or crude; they must be bunglers, indeed, if they do not take care not to lose by it; but, it may be a very wild, a very crude affair to those who take shares under them; and, as to those who actually expend their money to purchase lands of this company, or to those who go in order to get a living by working there, the scheme will be very wild, indeed. Those who go there for the purpose of robbing the settlers may get money; but as to the settlers them-

selves, they will be a set of the most miserable wretches under the sun.

This writer wants a large body of the working classes to go, he "*sympathizing deeply with that class*." And he understands that *passages, cost free*, are to be provided for a *large body of persons of this description*. Oh, oh! Now who will bet me two to one, that the money taken from the parishes to be paid for the emigration of the working people will not be paid over to this company? Who will bet me two to one of that; and who will tell, or can tell, how far the poor-law project was originally connected with this project? When I heard Mr. WHITMORE detailing the wondrous gains of new settlements all over the world, and saying, (according to his explanation), that the present system of poor-laws had the malignity of a fiend; and especially when I heard him go into details of the vast gains of new settlements, I could not help wondering what all that had to do with the Poor-law Bill. I now understand it all. It all had a great deal to do with the Poor-law Bill; and, as I said before, it would be curious to know what each of these projects had to do in giving rise to the other. The South-Sea bubble was not more mischievous, than the South-Sand bubble would be, if it could possibly succeed. Succeed it cannot; for the ruined and broken-hearted creatures will write home to their relations and friends, as they do from Canada, and then the scheme is at an end; but before they can do that, those who now put their names to the project will, I dare say, have had the prudence to quit the concern, as we have seen it happen in so many hundreds of instances, leaving the wretches that have been deluded by it, to all those sufferings which they, indeed, will richly merit; because, in nine cases out of ten, they will be the victims of their own obstinacy, perverseness, or greediness; of their own lazy ambition, seeking for parks, without the genius, the industry, or any other of those means by which parks ought to be acquired.

There are some few who may be good and industrious people; who find it very

difficult to get a livelihood and to provide for children in England, and who will be deluded with the thought, that this is to be done in Australia; and particularly there may be some labouring men or citizens, who will listen to the Australian lie. These I wish to remind that land covered with trees, or with rocks, or which is a swamp, is of no more use to them than just the same quantity of sea. I sailed to Long Island in 1817, with about twenty farming men, who came from the neighbourhood of WISBEACH in Cambridge-shire. None of them had less than a hundred pounds; some of them had a good deal more. They were steerage passengers; and, therefore, by the habits observed in such cases, they were separated as society from me, who went in the cabin; but, one evening, as ten or a dozen of them were ranged leaning upon the rail by the side of the ship, I heard them calculating upon the number of acres of land that each of them could buy, the infernal villains of land-jobbers having kindly furnished them with a printed account of prices, together with animated descriptions of the streams and meadows and mines and fruit trees, and the like. I went and wedged myself in amongst them, and leaned upon the rail, too; and, taking out a pencil and a bit of paper, asked them how much land they wanted, because I had some to dispose of. The sea was perfectly calm and smooth, and we were upon the great bank of Newfoundland, which, I believe, is rather bigger than England. Having got the numbers, I added them up. "Oh!" exclaimed I, "why here are less than five thousand acres in the whole! I will give it you, without a farthing in payment!" "Thank ye, sir!" they exclaimed. "But can we go to it as soon as we land at New York?" "Oh!" said I, "you can go to it this minute, if you like; for here it is: that's it," giving my hand a sweep round over the sea. "Ah!" said they, "but that's water; that a'nt land." "Oh, oh!" said I, "but there is land under, at only sixty fathoms off; and it will be full as easy for you to get

"the water off from that land, as it will be for you to clear the wood off the land which these villanous land-jobbers have deluded you to seek after. There," said I, "Godwin, take you your hundred acres there, and take possession directly; and you will kill a calf (he was a sort of butcher) upon that land below us, sooner than you will kill one from the miserable lands which you will buy with your little bit of money," which was two hundred pounds. I then explained to them the impossibility of their doing anything with new land; and that it would, in fact, be of no more use to them than so much sea; I told them that they must be utterly ruined and destroyed, if they did not go to work for somebody else. They heard me, but nothing could beat them out of the idea, that as land was to be got for a dollar an acre, they could make shift to live upon it, at the least. When they landed, however, they saw many of their countrymen who had preceded them. The result was, that thirteen out of the twenty went to work at New York and the neighbourhood. The other seven, after losing all their money, and worrying themselves half to death, came back beggars to New York; and the very last day that I was in that city, I saw Godwin in a famously dirty dress, banging along the High-street of New York in a butcher's cart, just in the style of the "old country," and to the great amazement of the beholders. I saw his mother at CROWLAND about four years ago, and told her of the prosperous condition in which I had left her son.

It is impossible for any man adequately to describe the endless privations, the mortifying sufferings of a new settlement. In short, it is savage-life, without its absence of care. No sooner do you arrive at the land, than you perceive that you are ruined, unless you can retreat from it at once. But what do we want more than the settlement of the ILLINOIS? All England did not contain two much more clever men than MORRIS BIRKBECK and RICHARD FLOWER. They carried to the ILLINOIS

not much less than forty thousand pounds between them. BIRKBECK took, as his valuation out of WANBOROUGH farm, the hilly part of which I now see from the window at which I am sitting; he was valued out of that farm at seventeen thousand pounds. All was sunk at the ILLINOIS. Well, but he raised a mansion there, to be sure, and became a great man in that country. He never had a dwelling there so good as the worst of the cottages belonging to WANBOROUGH farm, a farm on which he grew annually about two hundred acres of wheat, and on which he kept a flock of sheep, worth more than the fee-simple of the ILLINOIS. And what was the final result with regard to him? He never lived to have a decent room to sit down in: he lived to see his son a common labourer; and lived to see his daughters married to men, whom he would have thought worthy of punishment, if they had offered their addresses to them in England. His death was accidental, to be sure; but he met it in crossing a river in the ILLINOIS. His two amiable daughters have had to endure tribulation upon tribulation; one being now, I am told, at NEW ORLEANS, and the other somewhere in the north of America. RICHARD FLOWER is dead; and his son leading the life of a rough back-woodsman.

If I had been praying for the salvation of my soul, I could not have been more earnest in my entreaties to these people not to go to that accursed country. I saw Mr. BIRKBECK in London, before he went at all. I saw Mr. FLOWER and his family at NEW YORK. I used every possible means within my power to prevail on them not to go. I told them all the consequences, precisely as those consequences have come to pass; except, indeed, that my imagination never extended to the calamities that have befallen Mr. BIRKBECK and his family. In a pecuniary point of view he was totally ruined before he lost his life. He spent a fortune on which he might have lived and kept his carriage in England; and he never had a dwelling in America equal to one of the very worst of the cottages appertaining to WANBOROUGH

farm. I saw Mr. RICHARD FLOWER in a house in Hertfordshire, with a beautiful farm around it, and a homestead so complete, that niceness itself could have suggested nothing to add or to alter. His wife and son are now in a miserable log, or boarded house, sitting down at table with persons, such as their yearly servants in Hertfordshire would not have sittedown with. And the money all gone!

The infatuation which pervades men's minds when they are promised parks is quite surprising. A draper in the STRAND, whose name I have forgotten, went, about six years ago, to *Van Diemen's Land*. He was a very worthy man, as they told me; had saved ten or fifteen thousand pounds; and was bent upon a park in Van Diemen's Land. He took his passage in a ship, which, in the first place, rejected three-fourths of his luggage, which was to follow by another ship; two servants that he had hired to go with him, and had received part of their wages beforehand, had the cunning and the villany to fall fast asleep and to lose their passage; his wife, who was pregnant, died on the passage, in childbirth, her heart broken and her frame wasted beforehand. What more happened to him, I never heard, but I would pledge my existence, that all he now possesses in the world, if he be alive, is not worth five years' interest of the fortune which he took away. This man I met accidentally at the house of a friend; and I implored him not to go. They were worthy people; they had the fruits of twenty years of great industry; and I thought it my duty to warn them of their danger. This man had actually gone so far as to draw a plan of a castle that he intended to build; and he actually took out a swivel gun or two, to be fired occasionally from the top of the castle. "Oh!" you will say, "the man was mad." As to this matter he was mad; but not more mad than every one is who spends his money, or employs his person on such enterprises. With regard to the present scheme, it is a mere land-jobbing delusion. It is worse than any that I have ever head of before; but indeed, they are all a compound of wickedness and folly.

And, as to matters of politics and government. The government is, and must be, arbitrary and despotic. In the colonies the gentlefolks are, the officers of the army, of the navy, and of the Government; they and their insolent wives and daughters and sons swarm in all the colonies, like *aphi* upon the peach-tree that is blasted. There are no gentlemen in private life: the governor and his troop of officers, and the other persons in public employ and public pay, look upon all the rest of the community (if community it can be called) with disdain inexpressible. No tradesman, no farmer (if there were a man worthy of the name in the country), dares speak to a miserable lieutenant, or ensign, without pulling off his hat, and standing with his hat off. He will not punish you upon the spot for the omission; but you will be sure to get the punishment before a month has passed over your head. If any man would give me as a present the two Canadas, and compel me to live there under the Colonial Government, I would not accept of it. That, indeed, is not saying much; because I would not live there under any government; for it is so hateful, so detestable a thing, that any man of any spirit, would dig, or beg, or do any thing, in England, rather than submit to it.

To the United States, indeed, a man *may* go, and change for the better; but, if he do not go merely as a working man, it is always a nice question even emigrating to that country. If the emigrant go to set about clearing lands, even there he is a ruined man, let his fortune be what it may. I can suppose a case, in which to emigrate may be wise; but, then, it must be to a *settled country*. However, nothing more is necessary on this subject, than the reading of the following two Letters to poor Mr. BIRKBECK, which I take from my "YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA," which was first published when those who are now *twenty*, were only *six*, years old. Here, in this extract, the reader will see all the process, and all the fatal effects, of emigrating to *new settlements*.

TO THOMAS BIRKBECK, ESQ., OF
ENGLISH PRAIRIE, ILLINOIS TERRITORY.

North Hempstead, Long Island,
10. Dec. 1818.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have read your two little books, namely, the "*Notes on a Journey in America*," and the "*Letters from the Illinois*." I opened the books, and proceeded in the perusal, with *fear and trembling*; not because I supposed it possible for you to put forth an *intended* imposition on the world; but because I had a sincere respect for the character and talents of the writer; and because I knew how enchanting and delusive are the prospects of enthusiastic minds, when bent on grand territorial acquisitions.

My apprehensions were, I am sorry to have it to say, but too well founded. Your books, written I am sure, without any intention to deceive and decoy, and without any, even the smallest, tincture of base self-interest, are, in my opinion, calculated to produce great disappointment, not to say misery and ruin, amongst our own country people (for I will, in spite of your disavowal, still claim the honour of having you for a countryman), and great injury to America by sending back to Europe accounts of that disappointment, misery, and ruin.

It is very true, that you decline *advising* any one to go to the ILLINOIS, and it is also true, that your description of the *hardships* you encountered is very candid; but still there runs throughout the whole of your *Notes* such an account as to the *prospect*, that is to say the *ultimate effect*, that the book is, without your either wishing or perceiving it, calculated to deceive and decoy. You do indeed describe difficulties and hardships; but, then, you *overcome* them all with so much ease and gaiety, that you make them disregarded by your English readers, who, sitting by their fire-side, and feeling nothing but the gripe of the boroughmongers and the tax-gatherer, merely cast a glance at you hardships and fully participate in all your enthusiasm. You do indeed fairly describe the rugged roads, the dirty hovels, the fire in the woods to sleep by, the path-

less ways through the wildernesses, the dangerous crossings of the rivers, but, there are the beautiful meadows and rich lands *at last*; there is the *freehold domain at the end*! There are the giants and the enchanters to encounter; the slashings and the rib-roasting to undergo; but then, there is, *at last*, the lovely languishing damsel to repay the adventurer.

The whole of your writings relative to your undertaking, address themselves directly to *English farmers*, who have property to the amount of two or three thousand pounds, or upwards. Persons of this description are, not by your express words, but by the natural tendency of your writings, *invited*, nay, strongly invited, to emigrate with their property to the Illinois Territory. Many have already acted upon the invitation. Many others are about to follow them. I am convinced, that their doing this is unwise, and greatly injurious, not only to them, but to the character of America as a country to emigrate to, and, as I have, in the first Part of this work, promised to give, as far as I am able, a *true* account of America, it is my duty to state the *reasons* on which this conviction is founded; and, I address the statement to you, in order, that, if you find it erroneous, you may, in the like public manner, show wherein I have committed error.

We are speaking, my dear sir, of English farmers possessing each two or three thousand pounds sterling. And, before we proceed to inquire; whether such persons ought to emigrate to the *west* or to the *east*, it may not be amiss to inquire a little, whether they ought to *emigrate at all*! Do not start now! For, while I am very certain that the emigration of *such persons* is not in the end calculated to produce benefit to America, as a nation, I greatly doubt of its being, *generally speaking*, of any benefit to the emigrants themselves, if we take into view the chances of their speedy relief at home.

Persons of advanced age, of settled habits, of deep-rooted prejudices, of settled acquaintances, of contracted sphere of movement, do not, to use Mr. GEORGE

FLOWER's expression, "*transplant well*." Of all such persons, farmers transplant worse; and, of all farmers, English farmers are the worst to transplant. Of some of the *tears*, shed in the ILLINOIS, an account reached me several months ago, through an eye-witness of perfect veracity, and a very sincere friend of freedom, and of you, and whose information was given me, unasked for, and in the presence of several Englishmen, every one of whom, as well as myself, most ardently wished you success.

It is nothing, my dear sir, to say, as you do, in the Preface to the *Letters from the Illinois*, that as "little would I encourage the emigration of the tribe of *grumblers*, people who are petulant and discontented under the *every-day* evils of life. Life has its petty miseries in *all situations* and climates, to be mitigated or cured by the continual efforts of an elastic spirit, or to be borne, if incurable, with cheerful patience. But the *peevish emigrant* is perpetually comparing the *comforts* he has quitted, but never could enjoy, with the *privations* of *his new allotment*. He overlooks the *present good*, and broods over the evil with *habitual perverseness*; whilst in the recollection of the past, he dwells on the good only. Such people are always *bad associates*, but they are *an especial nuisance* in an infant colony."

Give me leave to say, my dear sir, that there is too much *asperity* in this language, considering who were the objects of its censure. Nor do you appear to me to afford, in this instance, a very happy illustration of the absence of that *peevishness*, which you perceive in others, and for the yielding to which you call them a *nuisance*; an appellation much too harsh for the object and for the occasion. If you, with all your elasticity of spirit, all your ardour of pursuit, all your compensations of fortune in prospect, and all your gratifications of fame in possession, cannot with patience hear the wailings of some of your neighbours, into what source are

they to dip for the waters of content and good-humour?

It is no "*every-day evil*" that they have to bear. For an English farmer, and more especially an English farmer's wife, after crossing the sea and travelling to the Illinois, with the consciousness of having expended a third of their substance, to purchase, as yet, nothing but sufferings; for such persons to boil their pot in the gipsy-fashion, to have a mere board to eat on, to drink whisky or pure water, to sit and sleep under a shed far inferior to their English cow-pens, to have a mill at twenty miles' distance, an apothecary's shop at a hundred, and a doctor nowhere: these, my dear sir, are not, to *such people*, "*every-day evils of life*." You, though in your little "*cabin*," have your *books*, you have your name circulating in the world, you have it to be given, by-and-by, to a city or a county; and, if you fail of brilliant success, you have still a sufficiency of fortune to secure you a safe retreat. Almost the whole of your neighbours must be destitute of all these sources of comfort, hope, and consolation. As they *now are*, their change is, and must be, for the worse; and, as *to the future*, besides the uncertainty attendant, every where, on that which is to come, they ought to be excused, if they, at their age, despair of seeing days as happy as those that they have seen.

It were much better for *such people* not to emigrate at all; for while they are *sure* to come into a state of some degree of suffering, they leave behind them the *chance* of happy days; and, in my opinion, a *certain y* of such days. I think it next to impossible for any man of tolerable information to believe that the present tyranny of the seat-owners can last another two years. As to *what change* will take place it will, perhaps, be hard to say; but that *some great change* will come is certain; and it is also certain that the change *must be for* the better. Indeed, one of the motives for the emigration of many is said to be that they think a *convulsion* inevitable. Why should such persons as I am speaking of fear a convul-

sion? Why should they suppose that they should suffer by a convulsion? What have *they* done to provoke the rage of the blanketteers? Do they think that their countrymen, all but themselves, will be transformed into prowling wolves? This is precisely what the boroughmongers wish them to believe; and, believing it, they *flee* instead of remaining to assist to keep the people down, as the boroughmongers wish them to do.

Being here, however, they, as you say, *think only of the good* they have left behind them, and of *the bad they find here*. This is no fault of theirs: it is the natural course of the human mind: and this you ought to have known. You yourself acknowledge, that England "*was never so dear to you as it is now*" "*in recollection*"; being no longer under "*its base oligarchy*, I can think of my "*native country and her noble institutions*, apart from her *politics*." I may ask you, by the way, what *noble institutions* she has, which are not of a *political nature*? Say the *oppressions of her tyrants*, say that you can think of her and love her renown and her famous political institutions, apart from those oppressions, and then I go with you with all my heart; but, so thinking and so feeling, I cannot say with you in your *NOTES*, that England is to me "*matter of history*," nor with you, in *YOUR LETTERS FROM THE ILLINOIS*, "*that where liberty is, there is my country*."

But, leaving this matter for the present, if English farmers must emigrate, why should they encounter *unnecessary* difficulties? Coming from a country like a garden, why should they not stop in another *somewhat resembling* that which they have lived in before? Why should they, at an expense amounting to a large part of what they possess, prowl two thousand miles at the hazard of their limbs and lives, take women and children through scenes of hardship and distress, not easily described, and that too, to live like gipsies at the end of their journey, for, at least, a year or two, and, as I think I shall show, without the smallest chance of their *finally*

doing so well as they may do in these Atlantic states? Why should an English farmer and his family, who have always been jogging about a snug homestead, eating regular meals, and sleeping in warm rooms, push back to the Illinois, and encounter those hardships, which require all the habitual disregard of comfort of an American back-woodsman to overcome? Why should they do this? The undertaking is hardly reconcileable to reason in an Atlantic American farmer who has half a dozen sons, all brought up to use the axe, the saw, the chisel and the hammer, from their infancy, and every one of whom is ploughman, carpenter, wheelwright, and butcher, and can work from sun-rise to sun-set, and sleep, if need be, upon the bare boards. What, then, must it be in an English farmer and his family of helpless mortals? Helpless, I mean, in this scene of such novelty and such difficulty! And what is his wife to do; she who has been torn from all her relations and neighbours, and from every thing that she liked in the world, and who, perhaps, has never, in all her life before, been *ten miles* from the cradle in which she was nursed? An American farmer mends his plough, his wagon, his tackle of all sorts, his household goods, his shoes; and, if need be, he *makes* them all. Can our people do all this, or any part of it? Can they live without bread for months? Can they live without beer? Can they be otherwise than miserable, cut off, as they must be, from all intercourse with, and hope of hearing of, their relations and friends? The truth is, that this is not *transplanting*, it is *tearing up and flinging away*.

Society! What society can these people have? 'Tis true they have nobody to envy, for nobody can have any thing to enjoy. But there may be, and there must be, mutual complainings and upbraidings; and every unhappiness will be traced directly to him who has been, however, unintentionally, the cause of the unhappy person's removal. The very foundation of your plan necessarily contained the seeds of discontent and ill-will. A colony all from

the same country was the very worst project that could have been fallen upon. You took upon yourself the *charge* of Moses without being invested with any part of his *authority*; and absolute as this was, he found the charge so heavy, that he called upon the Lord to share it with him, or to relieve him from it altogether. Soon after you went out, a Unitarian priest, upon my asking what you were going to do in that wild country, said, you were going to form a community, who would be "content to worship *one God*." "I hope not," said I, "for he will have plagues enough without adding a priest to the number." But, perhaps, I was wrong: for AARON was of great assistance to the leader of the Israelites.

As if the inevitable effects of disappointment and hardship were not sufficient, you had too a sort of *partnership* in the *leaders*. This is *sure* to produce feuds and bitterness in the long run. Partnership sovereignties have furnished the world with numerous instances of poisonings and banishments and rottings in prison. It is as much as merchants, who post their books every Sunday, can do to get along without quarrelling. Of man and wife, though they are flesh of flesh and bone of bone, the harmony is not always quite perfect, except in France, where the husband is the servant, and in Germany and Prussia, where the wife is the slave. But as for a partnership sovereignty without disagreement, there is but one single instance upon record; that I mean was of the *two kings of Brentford*, whose cordiality was, you know, so perfect that they both smelt to the same nosegay. This is, my dear sir, no bantering. I am quite serious. It is impossible that separations should not take place, and equally impossible that the neighbourhood should not be miserable. This is not the way to settle in America. The way is, to go and *sit yourselves down amongst the natives*. They are already settled. They can *lend* you what you want to borrow, and happy they are always to do it. And, which is the great thing of all great things, you have

their women for your women to commune with!

RAPP indeed has done great things; but RAPP has the authority of Moses and that of Aaron united in his own person. Besides, Rapp's community observe in reality that celibacy which monks and nuns pretend to, though I am not going to take my oath, mind, that none of the tricks of the convent are ever played in the tabernacles of *Harmony*. At any rate, Rapp secures the effects of celibacy; first, an absence of the expense attending the breeding and rearing of children, and second, unremitted labour of woman as well as man. But where, in all the world, is the match of this to be found? Where else shall we look for a society composed of persons willing and able to forego the gratification of the most powerful propensity of nature, for the sake of getting money together? Where else shall we look for a band of men and women who love money better than their own bodies? Better than their souls we find people enough to love money; but who ever before heard of a set that preferred the love of money to that of their bodies? Who before ever conceived the idea of putting a stop to the procreation of children, for the sake of saving the expense of bearing and breeding them? This society, which is a perfect prodigy and monster, ought to have the image of MAMMON in their place of worship; for that is the object of their devotion, and not the God of nature. Yet the persons belonging to this unnatural association are your nearest neighbours. The masculine things here called women, who have imposed barrenness on themselves out of a pure love of gain, are the nearest neighbours of the affectionate, tender-hearted wives and mothers and daughters, who are to inhabit your colony, and who are, let us thank God, the very reverse of the petticoated Germans of harmony.

In such a situation, with so many circumstances to annoy, what happiness can an English family enjoy in that country, so far distant from all that resembles what they have left behind

them? "The fair enchantress *Liberty*," of whom you speak with not too much rapture, they would have found in any of *these states*, and in a garb too by which they would have recognised her. Where they now are, they are *free* indeed, but their freedom is that of the wild animals in your woods. It is not *freedom*, it is *no government*. The GIRLS in England are *free*; and any one who has a mind to live in a cave, or cabin, in some hidden recess of our *Hampshire forests*, may be *free* too. The English farmer in the *Illinois* is indeed beyond the reach of the borough-mongers; and so is the man that is in the grave. When it was first proposed in the English Ministry to drop quietly the title of *King of France* in the enumeration of our king's titles, and when it was stated to be an expedient *likely to tend to a peace*, Mr. WYNDHAM, who was then a member of the Cabinet, said, "As this is a measure of *safety*, and "as doubtless we shall hear of others of "the same cast, what think you of *going under ground at once*?" It was a remark enough to cut the liver out of the hearers; but Pitt and his associates had no livers. I do not believe that any twelve journeymen or labourers in England would have voted for the adoption of this mean and despicable measure.

If indeed the *Illinois* were the *only* place out of the reach of the borough-grasp, and if men are resolved to get out of that reach, then I should say, go to the *Illinois* by all means. But as there is a country, a settled country, a free country full of kind neighbours, full of all that is good; and when this country is to be traversed in order to get at the acknowledged hardships of the *Illinois*, how can a sane mind lead an English farmer into the expedition?

It is the enchanting damsel that makes the knight encounter the hair-breadth escapes, the sleeping on the ground, the cooking with cross-sticks to hang the pot on. It is the *prairie*, that pretty French word, which means green grass bespangled with daisies and cowslips! Oh, God! what delusion! And that a man of sense, a man of superior under-

standing and talent; a man of honesty, honour, humanity, and lofty sentiment, should be the cause of this delusion; I, my dear sir, have seen *prairies* many years ago, in America, as fine as yours, as fertile as yours, though not so extensive. I saw those prairies settled on by American loyalists, who were carried, with all their goods and tools to the spot, and who were furnished with four years' provisions, all *at the expense of England*; who had the lands *given them*; tools *given them*; and who were thus seated down on the borders of *creeks*, which gave them easy communication with the inhabited plains near the sea. The settlers that I particularly knew were Connecticut men. Men with families of sons. Men able to do as much in a day at the works necessary in their situation as so many Englishmen would be able to do in a week. They began with a *shed*; then rose to a *log-house*; and next to a *frame-house*; all of their own building. I have seen them manure their land with *salmon* caught in their creeks, and with *pigeons* caught on the land itself. It will be a long while before you will see such beautiful *corn-fields* as I saw there. Yet nothing but the danger and disgrace which attended their return to Connecticut *prevented their returning*, though there they must have begun the world anew. I saw them in their log-huts, and saw them in their frame-houses. They had overcome all their difficulties as settlers; they were under a government which required neither tax nor service from them; they were as happy as people could be as to ease and plenty; but, still, they *sighed for Connecticut*; and especially the *women*, young as well as old, though we, gay fellows with worsted or silver lace upon our bright red coats, did our best to make them happy by telling them entertaining stories about Old England, while we drank their coffee and grog by gallons, and eat their fowls, pigs, and sausages and sweetmeats, by wheelbarrow loads; for, though we were by no means *shy*, their hospitality far exceeded our appetites. I am an old hand at the work of settling in wilds. I have more than

once or twice had to begin my nest and go in like a bird, making it habitable by degrees; and, if I, or if such people as my old friends above-mentioned, with every thing found for them and brought to the spot, had difficulties to undergo, and *sighed for home* even after all the difficulties were over, what must be the lot of an English farmer's family in the Illinois?

All this I told you, my dear sir, in London, just before your departure. I begged of you and Mr. Richard Flower both, not to think of the wilderness. I begged of you to go to within a day's ride of some of these great cities, where your ample capital and your great skill could not fail to place you upon a footing, at least, with the richest amongst the most happy and enlightened yeomanry in the world; where you would find every one to praise the improvements you would introduce, and nobody to envy you any thing that you might acquire. Where you would find society as good, in all respects, as that which you had left behind you. Where you would find neighbours ready prepared for you far more generous and hospitable than those in England *can be*, loaded and pressed down as they are by the inexorable hand of the borough-villains. I offered you a letter (which I believe I sent you), to my friends the PAULS, "But," said I, "you want no letter. Go into Philadelphia, or Bucks, or Chester, or Montgomery county; tell any of the Quakers, or any body else, that you are an English farmer, come to settle amongst them; and I'll engage that you will instantly have friends and neighbours as good and as cordial as those that you leave in England."

At this very moment, if this plan had been pursued, you would have had a beautiful farm of two or three hundred acres. Fine stock upon it feeding on Swedish turnips. A house overflowing with abundance; comfort, ease, and, if you chose, elegance, would have been your inmates; *libraries*, public and private, within your reach; and a communication with England much more

quick and regular than that which you now have even with Pittsburgh.

You say, that, "Philadelphians *know nothing* of the western counties." Suffer me, then, to say, that you know nothing of the *Atlantic States*, which, indeed, is the only apology for your saying, that the *Americans have no mutton fit to eat*, and that you regard it *only as a thing fit for dogs*. In this island every farmer has sheep. I kill *fatter* lamb than I ever saw in England, and the *fattest* mutton I ever saw, was in company with Mr. Harline, in Philadelphia market last winter. At BRIGHTON, near Boston, they produced, at a cattle show this fall, an ox of *two thousand seven hundred pounds* weight, and sheep much finer than you and I saw at the Smithfield show in 1814. Mr. Judge Lawrence, of this county, has kept, for seven years, an average of *five hundred merinos* on his farm of *one hundred and fifty acres*, besides raising twenty acres of corn and his usual pretty large proportion of grain! Can your western farmers beat that? Yes, in extent, as the surface of five dollars beats that of a guinea.

I suppose that Mr. Judge Lawrence's farm, close by the side of a bay that gives him two hours of water carriage to New York; a farm with twenty acres of meadow, *real prairie*; a gentleman's house and garden; barns, sheds, cider-house, stables, coach-house, corn-cribs, and orchards, that may produce from four to eight thousand bushels of apples and pears: I suppose, that this farm is worth *three hundred dollars an acre*: that is, forty-five thousand dollars, or about *twelve or thirteen thousand pounds*.

Now, then, let us take a look at your estimate of the expenses of *sitting down* in the prairies.

Copy from my Memorandum Book.

Estimate of money required for the comfortable establishment of my family on Bolting-house, now English, prairie; on which the first instalment is paid. About 720 acres of woodland, and 720 prairie;—the latter to be chiefly grass:

	Dollars.
Second instalment, Aug 1819, 720	
Third ditto, Aug. 1820, 720	
Fourth ditto, Aug. 1821, 720	
	2160
Dwelling-house and appurtenances	4590
Other buildings	1500
4680 rods of fencing, viz. 3400 on the prairie, and 1280 round the woodland	1170
Sundry wells, 200 dollars; gates, 100 dollars; cabins 200 dollars	500
100 head of cattle, 900 dollars; 20 sows, &c. 100 dollars; sheep, 1000 dollars	2000
Ploughs, wagons, &c., and sundry tools and implements	270
Housekeeping until the land supplies us	1000
Shepherd one year's wages, herdsmen one year, and sundry other labourers	1000
One cabinet-maker, one wheelwright, one year, making furniture and implements, 300 dollars each	600
Sundry articles of furniture, ironmongery, pottery, glass &c	500
Sundries, fruit trees, &c	100
First instalment already paid ..	720
Five horses on hand, worth....	300
Expense of freight and carriage of linen, bedding, books, clothing, &c	1000
Value of articles brought from England	4500
Voyage and journey	2000

Dol. 23,820

23,820 dollars = 5,359*l.* sterling.

Allow about 600 dollars
more for seed and
corn

141

£ 5500

So, here is more than one-third of the amount of Mr. Judge Lawrence's farm. To be sure, there are only about 18,000 dollars expended on land, buildings, and *getting at them*; but, *what a life* is that which you are to lead for a *thousand dollars a year*, when two good domestic servants will cost *four hundred*

of the money? Will you live like one of the yeomen of your rank here? Then, I assure you, that your domestics and groceries (the latter three times as dear as they are here) and crockeryware (equally dear) will more than swallow up that pitiful sum. You allow six thousand dollars for *buildings*. Twice the sum would not put you, in this respect, upon a footing with Mr. Lawrence. His land is all completely fenced and his grain in the ground. His apple-trees have *six thousand bushels of apples in their buds*, ready to come out in the spring; and, a large part of these to be sold at a high price to go on ship-board. But, what is to give you his *market*? What is to make your pork, as soon as killed, sell for 9 or 10 dollars a hundred, and your cows at 45 or 50 dollars each, and your beef at 7 or 8 dollars a hundred, and your corn at a dollar, and wheat at two dollars a bushel?

However, happiness is in the *mind*; and, if it be necessary to the gratification of your mind to inhabit a wilderness and be the owner of a large tract of land, you are right to seek and enjoy this gratification, but, for the plain, plodding, *English farmer*, who simply seeks safety for his little property, with some addition to it for his children; for such a person to cross the Atlantic states in search of safety, tranquillity and gain in the Illinois, is, to my mind, little short of madness. Yet, to this mad enterprise is he allured by your captivating statements, and which statements become decisive in their effects upon his mind, when they are reduced to *figures*. This, my dear sir, is the part of your writings, which has given me most pain. You have not *meant to deceive*; but you have first practised a deceit upon yourself, and then upon others. All the disadvantages you *state*; but, then, you accompany the statement by telling us how *quickly* and how *easily* they will be overcome. Salt, Mr. HULME finds, even at ZANESVILLE, at *two dollars and a half a bushel*; but, you tell us, that it *soon will be at three quarters of a dollar*. And thus it goes all through.

I am happy, however, that you have given us *figures* in your account of what an English farmer may do *with two thousand pounds*. It is alluring, it is fallacious, it tends to disappointment, misery, ruin, and broken hearts; but it is open and honest in intention, and it affords us the means of detecting and exposing the fallacy. Many and many a family have returned to New England after having emigrated to the west in search of *fine estates*. They, able workmen, exemplary livers, have returned to labour in their native states amongst their relations and old neighbours; but, what are our poor ruined countrymen to do, when they become penniless? If I could root my country from my heart, common humanity would urge me to make an humble attempt to dissipate the charming delusions, which have, without your perceiving it, gone forth from your sprightly and able pen, and which delusions are the more dangerous on account of your justly high and well-known character for understanding and integrity.

The statement, to which I allude, stands as follows, in your *tenth letter from the Illinois*.

A capital of 2,000*l.* sterling, (8,889 dollars), may be invested on a section of such land, in the following manner, viz. :-

	Dollars.
Purchase of the land, 640 acres, at 2 dollars per acre	1280
House and buildings, exceedingly convenient and comfortable, may be built for	1500
A rail fence round the woods, 1,000 rods, at 25 cents per rod	250
About 1,800 rods of ditch and bank, to divide the arable land into 10 fields	600
Planting 1,800 rods of live fence	150
Fruit trees for orchard, &c	100
Horses and other live stock	1500
Implements and furniture	1000
Provision for one year, and sundry incidental charges ..	1000
Carried forward	7380

Brought over....	738
Sundry articles of linen, books, apparel, implements, &c. brought from England	10
Carriage of ditto, suppose 2,000 lb. at 10 dollars per cwt	200
Voyage and travelling expenses of one person, suppose	309

8889

Note.—The first instalment on the land is 320 dollars, therefore 960 dollars of the purchase money remain in hand to be applied to the expenses of cultivation, in addition to the sums above stated.

Expenditure of first Year.

Breaking up 100 acres, 2 dollars per acre.....	200
Indian corn for seed, 5 barrels, (a barrel is five bushels)	10
Planting ditto	25
Horse-hoeing ditto one dollar per acre	100
Harvesting ditto, 1½ dollar per acre	150
Ploughing the same land for wheat, 1 dollar per acre	100
Seed wheat, sowing and harrowing.....	175
Incidental expenses	240
	1000

Produce of first Year.

100 acres of Indian corn, 50 bushels (or 10 barrels) per acre, at 2 dollars per barrel ..	2000
---	------

Net produce 1000

Expenditure of second Year.

Breaking up 100 acres for Indian corn, with expenses on that crop	485
Harvesting and thrashing wheat, 100 acres	350
Ploughing 100 acres for wheat, seed, &c.....	275
Incidents	290
	1400

Produce of second Year.

100 acres of Indian corn, 20 barrels per acre, 2 dollars per barrel	2000
100 acres wheat, 20 bushels per acre, 75 dollars per barrel	1500—3500

Net produce 2100

Expenditure of third Year.

Breaking up 100 acres as before, with expenses on crop of Indian corn	485
Ploughing 100 acres of wheat stubble for Indian corn.....	100
Horse-hoeing, harvesting, &c. ditto	285
Harvesting and thrashing 100 acres wheat	350
Dung-carting 100 acres for wheat, after second crop of Indian corn	200
Ploughing 200 acres wheat, seed, &c.....	550
Incidents	330
	2300

Produce of third Year.

200 acres of Indian corn, 10 barrels per acre, 2 dollars per barrel....	4000
100 acres wheat, 20 bushels per acre, 75 dollars per barrel	1500—5500

Net produce 3200

Expenditure of fourth Year.

As the third	2300
Harvesting and thrashing 100 acres more wheat	350
Additional incidents	50
	2700

Produce of fourth Year.

200 acres Indian corn, as above.....	4000
200 acres of wheat.....	3000—7000

Net produce 4300

Summary.

	Expenses. Dollars.	Produce. Dollars.
First year	1000	2000
Second	1400	3500
Third	2300	5500
Fourth	2700	7000
		18,000
Housekeeping and other Expenses for four years ..	4000	11,400
Net proceeds per annum		1650
Increasing value of land by cul- tivation and settlements, half a dollar per ann. on 640 acres		320
Annual clear profit		1970

"Twenty more: kill 'em! Twenty more: kill them too!" No: I will not compare you to BOBADIL, for he was an intentional deceiver; and you are unintentionally deceiving others and yourself too. But really there is in this statement something so extravagant, so perfectly wild, so ridiculously and startlingly untrue, that it is not without a great deal of difficulty that all my respect for you personally can subdue in me the temptation to treat it with the contempt due to its intrinsic demerits.

I shall notice only a few of the items. A house, you say, "*exceedingly convenient and comfortable*, together with "farm-buildings, may be built for "1,500 dollars." Your own *intended* house you estimate at 4,500 dollars, and your out-buildings at 1,500 dollars. So that, *if* this house of the farmer (an English farmer, mind) and his buildings are to be "*exceedingly convenient and comfortable*," for 1,500 dollars, your house and buildings must be on a scale, which, if not perfectly *princely*, must savour a good deal of aristocratical distinction. But this *if* relieves us; for even your house, built of pine timber and boards, and covered with cedar shingles, and finished only as a *good plain farm-house* ought to be, will, if it be *thirty-six feet front, thirty-four feet deep*, two rooms in front, kitchen and wash-house behind, four rooms above,

and a cellar beneath; yes, this house alone, the bare empty house, with doors and windows suitable, will cost you more than *six thousand dollars*. I state this upon good authority. I have taken the estimate of a building carpenter. "What carpenter?" you will say. Why, a Long Island carpenter, and the house to be built *within a mile of Brooklyn*, or two miles of New York. And this is giving you all the advantage, for here the pine is cheaper than with you; the shingles cheaper; the lime and stone and brick as cheap or cheaper; the glass, iron, lead, brass, and tin, all at half or a quarter of the Prairie price; and as to *labour*, if it be not cheaper here than with you, men would do well *not to go so far in search of high wages!*

Let no simple Englishman imagine that here, at and near New York, in this *dear place*, we have to pay for the boards and timber *brought from a distance*: and that you, the happy people of the land of daisies and cowslips, can cut down *your own good and noble oak trees upon the spot, on your own estates, and turn them into houses without any carting*. Let no simple Englishman believe such idle stories as this. To dissipate all such notions, I have only to tell him, that the American farmers on this island, when they have buildings to make or repair, go and *purchase* the pine timber and boards, at the very same time that they *cut down their own oak trees and cleave up and burn them as firewood*. This is the universal practice in all the parts of America that I have ever seen. What is the cause? Pine wood is *cheaper*, though *bought*, than the oak is *without buying*. This fact, which nobody can deny, is a complete proof that you gain no advantage from being in woods, as far as *building* is concerned. And the truth is, that the boards and plank, which have been used in the Prairie *have actually been brought from the Wabash*, charged with ten miles *rough land carriage*; how far they may have come down the Wabash I cannot tell.

Thus, then, the question is settled that building must be *cheaper here than in the Illinois*. If, therefore, a house,

36 by 34 feet, cost *here* 6,000 dollars what can a man get *there* for 1,500 dollars! A miserable hole and no more. But here are to be *farm-buildings and all*, in the 1,500 dollars' worth! A barn, 40 feet by 30, with floor, and with stables in the sides, cannot be built for 1,500 dollars, leaving out wagon-house, corn-crib, cattle-hovels, yard-fences, pig-sties, smoke-house, and a great deal more! And yet, you say, that all these, and a farm-house into the bargain, all "*exceedingly comfortable and convenient*," may be had for 1,500 dollars!

Now, you know, my dear sir, that this is said in the face of all America. Farmers are my readers. They *all* understand these matters. They are not only good, but impartial judges; and I call upon you to contradict, or even question, my statements, if you can.

Do my eyes deceive me? Or do I really see *one hundred and fifty dollars* put down as the expense of "*one thousand eight hundred rod of live fence*"? That is to say, *nine cents, or fourpence halfpenny sterling a rod*! What plants? Whence to come? Drawn out of the woods, or first sown in a nursery? Is it *seed* to be sown? Where are the seeds to come from? No levelling of the top of the bank; no drill; no sowing; no keeping clean for a year or two; or, *all these for nine cents a rod*, when the same work cost *half a dollar a rod in England*!

Manure too! And do you really want manure then? And where, I pray you, are you to get manure for 100 acres? But supposing you to have it, do you seriously mean to tell us that you will carry it on for two dollars an acre? The *carrying on* indeed might perhaps be done for that, but who pays for the *filling* and for the *spreading*? Ah! my dear sir, I can well imagine your feelings at putting down the item of dung-carting, trifling as you make it appear upon paper. You now recollect my words when I last had the pleasure of seeing you in Catherine-street, a few days before the departure of us both. I then dreaded the dung-cart, and recommended the Tullian system to you,

by which you would have the same crops every year without manure; but, unfortunately for my advice, you sincerely believed your land would be already too rich, and that your main difficulty would be, not to *cart on* manure, but to *cart off* the produce!

After this it appears unnecessary for me to notice any other part of this Transalleganian romance, which I might leave to the admiration of the Edinburgh Reviewers, whose knowledge of these matters is quite equal to what they have discovered as to the funding system and paper-money. But when I think of the flocks of poor English farmers who are tramping away towards an imaginary across a real land of milk and honey, I cannot lay down the pen, till I have noticed an item or two of the *produce*.

The farmer is to have 100 acres of Indian corn the first year. The minds of you gentlemen who cross the Allegany seem to expand, as it were, to correspond with the extent of the horizon that opens to your view; but I can assure you, that if you were to talk to a farmer on this side of the mountains of a field of corn of a hundred acres during the first year of a settlement, with grassy land and hands scarce, you would frighten him into a third-day ague. In goes your corn, however! "Twenty more: kill 'em!" Nothing but ploughing: no harrowing; no marking; and only a horse-hoeing during the summer, at *a dollar an acre*. The planting is to cost only *a quarter of a dollar an acre*. The planting will cost *a dollar an acre*. The horse-hoeing in your grassy land *two dollars*. The *hand-hoeing*, which must be *well* done, or you will have no corn, *two dollars*; for in spite of your teeth your rampant natural grass will be up before your corn, and a man must go to *a thousand hills* to do *half an acre a day*. It will cost *two dollars* to harvest a hundred bushels of corn ears. So that here are about 400 dollars of expenses on the corn alone to be added. A *trifle*, to be sure, when we are looking through the Transalleganian glass, which diminishes out-goings and magnifies in-comings. However here are four hundred dollars.

In goes the plough for wheat! "In him again! Twenty more!" But, this is in *October* mind. Is the corn off? It may be; but, where are the *four hundred wagon loads of corn stalks*? A prodigiously fine thing is this forest of fodder, as *high* and as *thick* as an English coppice. But, though it be of *no use to you*, who have the *meadows* without bounds, this coppice must be *removed*, if you please, before you plough for wheat!

Let us pause here, then; let us look at the *battalion* who are at work; for, there must be little short of a Hessian battalion. Twenty men and twenty horses *may* husk the corn, cut and cart the stalks, plough and sow and harrow for the wheat; twenty two-legged and twenty four-legged animals *may* do the work in the proper time; but, if they do it, they must work *well*. Here is a goodly group to look at, for an English farmer, without a penny in his pocket; for all his money is *gone long ago*, even according to your own estimate; and, here, besides the expense of cattle and tackle, are 600 dollars, in bare wages, to be paid in a month! You and I both have forgotten the *shelling* of the corn, which, and putting it up, will come to 50 dollars more at the least, leaving the price of the barrel to be paid for by the purchaser of the corn.

But, what did I say? *Shell* the corn? It must go into the *cribs* first. It cannot be shelled *immediately*. And it must not be thrown into *heaps*. It must be put into *cribs*. I have had made out an estimate of the expense of the cribs for *ten thousand bushels* of corn ears: that is the crop; and the cribs will cost 570 dollars! Though, mind, the farmer's *house, barns, stables, wagon-house*, and all, are to cost but 1,500 dollars! But, the third year, our poor Simpleton is to have 200 acres of corn! "Twenty more: kill 'em!" Another 570 dollars for cribs!

However, crops now come tumbling on him so fast, that he must struggle hard not to be stifled with his own superabundance. He has now got 200 acres of corn and 100 acres of wheat, which latter he has, indeed, had one

year before! Oh, madness! But, to proceed. To get in these crops and to sow the wheat, first taking away 200 acres of *English coppice* in stalks, will, with the *dunging* for the wheat, require, at least, *fifty good men*, and *forty good horses or oxen*, for *thirty days*. Faith! when farmer Simpleton sees all this (in his *dreams* I mean), he will think himself a farmer of the rank of *Job*, before Satan beset that example of patience, so worthy of imitation, and so seldom imitated.

Well, but Simpleton must bustle to get in his wheat. *In*, indeed! What can cover it, but the canopy of heaven? A *barn*! It will, at *two English wagon loads of sheaves to an acre*, require a barn a hundred feet long, fifty feet wide, and twenty-three feet high up to the eaves; and this barn, with two proper floors, will cost more than *seven thousand dollars*. He will put it in *stacks*; let him add six men to his battalion then. He will *thrash it in the field*; let him add ten more men! Let him, at once, send and press the Harmonites into his service, and make *RAPP* march at their head, for, never will he by any other means get in the crop; and, even then, if he pay fair wages, he will lose by it.

After the crop is in and the seed sown, in the fall, what is to become of Simpleton's men till corn ploughing and planting time in the spring? And, then, when the planting is done, what is to become of them till harvest time? Is he, like *BAYES*, in the Rehearsal, to lay them down when he pleases, and when he pleases make them rise up again? To hear you talk about these crops, and at other times to hear you advising others to bring labourers from England, one would think you, for your own part, able, like *CADMUS*, to make men start up out of the earth. How would one ever have thought it possible for infatuation like this to seize hold of a mind like yours!

When I read in your Illinois Letters, that you had *prepared* horses, ploughs, and other things, for putting in a *hundred acres of corn in the spring*, how I pitied you! I saw all your plagues, if

you could not see them. I saw the grass choking your plants, the grubs eating them, and you fretting and turning from the sight with all the pangs of sanguine baffled hope. I expected you to have *ten bushels* instead of *fifty*, upon an acre. I saw your confusion, and participated in your mortification. From these feelings I was happily relieved by the journal of our friend HULME, who informs the world, and our countrymen in particular, that you had not, in *July last*, any corn at all growing!

Thus it is to reckon one's chickens before they are hatched: and thus the Transalleganian dream vanishes. You have been deceived. A warm heart, a lively imagination, and I know not what caprice about republicanism, have led you into sanguine expectations and wrong conclusions. Come, now; confess it like yourself; that is, like a man of sense and spirit; like an honest and fair-dealing John Bull. To err belongs to all men, great as well as little; but to be ashamed to confess error, belongs only to the latter.

Great as is my confidence in your candour, I can, however, hardly hope wholly to escape your anger for having so decidedly condemned your publications; but, I do hope that you will not be so unjust as to impute my conduct to any base self-interested motive. I have no private interest, I can have no such interest in endeavouring to check the mad torrent towards the west. I own nothing in these states, and never shall; and whether English farmers push on into misery and ruin, or stop here in happiness and prosperity, to me, as far as private interest goes, it must be the same. As to the difference in our feelings and notions about *country*, about *allegiance*, and about *forms of government*, this may exist without any, even the smallest degree of personal dislike. I was no hypocrite in England; I had no views farther than those which I professed. I wanted nothing for myself but the fruit of my own industry and talent, and I wished nothing for my country but its liberties and laws, which say, that the people shall be *fairly represented*. England has been very

happy and *free*; her greatness and renown have been surpassed by those of no nation in the world; her wise, just, and merciful laws form the basis of that freedom which we here enjoy, she has been fertile beyond all rivalry in men of learning, and men devoted to the cause of freedom and humanity; her people, though proud and domineering, yield to no people in the world in frankness, good faith, sincerity, and benevolence: and I cannot but know, that this state of things has existed, and that this people has been formed, under a government of King, Lords, and Commons. Having this powerful argument of experience before me, and seeing no reason why the thing should be otherwise, I have never wished for republican government in England; though, rather than that the present tyrannical oligarchy should continue to trample on king and people, I would gladly see the whole fabric torn to atoms, and trust to chance for something better, being sure that nothing could be worse. But, if I am not a republican; if I think my duty towards England indefeasible; if I think that it becomes me to abstain from any act which shall seem to say, I abandon her, and especially in this her hour of distress and oppression; and if, in all these points, I differ from you, I trust that to this difference no part of the above strictures will be imputed, but that the motive will be fairly inferred from the act, and not the act imputed unfairly to any motive. I am, my dear sir, with great respect for your talents as well as character,

Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

LETTER II.

North Hempstead, Long Island,
15. Dec., 1818.

MY DEAR SIR,—Being, when I wrote my former letter to you, in great haste to conclude, in order that my son William might take it to England with him, I left unnoticed many things, which I had observed in your "*Letters from the Illinois*"; and which things merited pointed notice. Some of these

I will notice; for, I wish to discharge all my duties towards my countrymen faithfully; and, I know of no duty more sacred, than that of warning them against pecuniary ruin and mental misery.

It has always been evident to me, that the western countries were not the countries for *English* farmers to settle in: no, nor for American farmers, unless under peculiar circumstances. The settlers, who have gone from the New England States, have, in general, been *able men* with families of *stout sons*. The contracted farm in New England sells for money enough to buy the land for five or six farms in the west. These farms are *made* by the *labour of the owners*. They *hire nobody*. They live *any how* for a while. I will engage that the labour performed by one stout New England family in *one year*, would cost an English farmer *a thousand pounds in wages*. You will say, why cannot the English labour as hard as the Yankees? But, mind, I talk of a *family* of Yankee *sons*; and, besides, I have no scruple to say, that one of these will do as much work in the *clearing* and *fencing* of a farm, and in the *erection of buildings*, as *four or five English* of the same age and size. Yet, have many of the New England farmers *returned*. Even *they* have had cause to repent of their folly. What hope is there, then, that English farmers will succeed?

It so happens, that *I have seen* new settlements formed. I have seen lands cleared. I have seen crowds of people coming and squatting down in woods or little islands, and by the sides of rivers. I have seen the log hut raised; the bark covering put on; I have heard the bold language of the adventurers; and I have witnessed their subsequent miseries. They were just as *free* as you are; for they, like you, saw no signs of the existence of any Government, good or bad.

New settlements, particularly at so great a distance from all the conveniences and sweeteners of life, must be begun by people who *labour for themselves*. Money is, in such a case, almost useless. It is impossible to be-

lieve, that after your statement about your intended *hundred acres of Indian corn*, you would not have had it, or, at least, a part of it, if you *could*: that is to say, if *money* would have got it. Yet you had not a single square rod. Mr. HULME (see Journal, 28. July) says, in the way of *reason* for your having *no crops* this year, that you could *purchase* with *more economy* than you could *grow*! Indeed! what; would the Indian corn have *cost, then, more than the price of the corn*? Untoward observation; but *perfectly true*, I am convinced. There is, it is my opinion, nobody that can raise Indian corn or grain at so great a distance from a market to any profit at all with *hired labour*. Nay, this is too plain a case to be matter of *opinion*. I may safely assume it as an indisputable fact. For, it being notorious, that labour is as high priced with you as with us, and your statement showing that corn is not much more than *one-third* of our price, how monstrous, if you gain at all, must be the consumers' gains here! The *rent* of the land here is a mere trifle more than it must be there, for the cultivated part must pay rent for the uncultivated part. The *labour*, indeed, as all the world knows, is every thing. All the other expenses are not worth speaking of. What, then, must be the gains of the Long Island farmer, who sells his corn at a dollar a bushel, if you, with labour at the Long Island price, can *gain* by selling corn at the rate of *five bushels for two dollars*! If yours be a *fine country* for English farmers to migrate to, *what must this be*? You want *no manure*. This cannot last long; and, accordingly, I see that you mean to *dung* for *wheat after the second crop of corn*. This is another of the romantic stories exposed. In letter IV. you relate the romance of *manure being useless*; but, in letter X. you tell us, that you propose to *use* it. Land bearing crops without a manure, or, with new culture and constant ploughing, is a romance. This I told you in London; and this you have found to be true.

It is of little consequence what wild schemes are formed and executed by

men who have property enough to carry them back; but, to invite men to go to the Illinois with a few score of pounds in their pockets, and to tell them that they can become farmers with those pounds, appears to me to admit of no other apology than an unequivocal acknowledgment that the inviter is mad. Yet your *fifteenth* letter from the Illinois really contains such an invitation. This letter is manifestly addressed to an imaginary person. It is clear that the correspondent is a *feigned*, or *supposed*, being. The letter is, I am sorry to say I think, a mere trap to catch poor creatures with a few pounds in their pockets. I will here take the liberty to insert the whole of this letter: and will then endeavour to show the misery which it is calculated to produce, not only amongst English people, but amongst Americans who may chance to read it, and who are now living happily in the Atlantic states. The letter is dated, 24. of February, 1818, and the following are its words:

"DEAR SIR,—When a man gives advice to his friends, on affairs of great importance to their interest, he takes on himself a load of responsibility, from which I have always shrunk, and generally withdrawn. My *example* is very much at their service, either for imitation or warning, as the case may be. I must, however, in writing to you, step a little over this line of caution, having more than once been instrumental in helping you, not out of your difficulties, but from one scene of perplexity to another; I cannot help advising you to make an effort more, and extricate yourself and family completely, by removing into this country. When I last saw you, twelve months ago, I did not think favourably of your prospects: if things have turned out better, I shall be rejoiced to hear it, and you will not need the advice I am preparing for you. But, if vexation and disappointments have assailed you, as I feared, and you can honourably make your escape, with the means of transmitting yourself hither, and one hundred pounds sterling to spare,

"don't hesitate. In six months after I shall have welcomed you, barring accidents, you shall discover that you are become rich, for you shall feel that you are independent; and I think that will be the most delightful sensation you ever experienced; for, you will receive it multiplied, as it were, by the number of your family as your troubles now are. It is not, however, a sort of independence that will excuse you from labour, or afford you many luxuries, that is, costly luxuries. I will state to you what I have learned, from a good deal of observation and inquiry, and a little experience; then you will form your own judgment. In the first place the voyage. That will cost you, to Baltimore or Philadelphia, provided you take it, as no doubt you would, in the cheapest way, twelve guineas each, for a berth, fire, and water, for yourself and wife, and half price, or less, for you children, besides provisions, which you will furnish. Then the journey. Over the mountains to Pittsburgh, down the Ohio to Shawnee town, and from thence to our settlement, fifty miles north, will amount to five pounds sterling per head. If you arrive here as early as May, or even in June, another five pounds per head will carry you on to that point, where you may take leave of dependence on any thing earthly but your own exertions. At this time I suppose you to have remaining one hundred pounds (borrowed probably from English friends, who rely on your integrity, and who may have directed the interest to be paid to me on their behalf, and the principal in due season). We will now, if you please, turn it into dollars, and consider how it may be disposed of. A hundred pounds sterling will go a great way in dollars. With eighty dollars you will enter a quarter section of land; that is, you will purchase at the land-office, one hundred and sixty acres, and pay one-fourth of the purchase money, and looking to the land to reward your pains with the means of discharging the other three-fourths as they become due, in

“two, three, and four years. You will
 “build a house with fifty dollars; and
 “you will find it extremely comfortable
 “and convenient, as it will be really
 “and truly yours. Two horses will
 “cost, with harness and plough, one
 “hundred. Cows, and hogs, and seed
 “corn, and fencing, with other ex-
 “penses, will require the remaining two
 “hundred and ten dollars. This begin-
 “ning, humble as it appears, is afflu-
 “ence and splendour, compared with the
 “original outfit of settlers in general.
 “Yet no man remains in poverty, who
 “possesses even moderate industry and
 “economy, and especially of *time*. You
 “would of course bring with you your
 “sea-bedding and store of blankets, for
 “you will need of them on the Ohio,
 “and you should leave England with a
 “good stock of wearing apparel. Your
 “luggage must be composed of light
 “articles, on account of the costly land-
 “carriage from the eastern port to Pitts-
 “burgh, which will be from seven to
 “ten dollars per 100lb., nearly sixpence
 “sterling per pound. A few simple
 “medicines of good quality are indis-
 “pensable, such as calomel, bark in
 “powder, castor oil, calcined magnesia,
 “laudanum; they may be of the great-
 “est importance on the voyage and
 “journey, as well as after your arrival.
 “Change of climate and situation will
 “produce temporary indisposition, but
 “with prompt and judicious treatment,
 “which is happily of the most simple
 “kind, complaints to which new
 “comers are liable, are seldom danger-
 “ous or difficult to overcome, provided
 “due regard had been had to salubrity
 “in the choice of their settlement, and
 “to diet and accommodation after their
 “arrival.

“With best regards,

“I remain, &c.”

Now, my dear sir, your mode of ad-
 dress in this letter clearly shows that
 you have in your eye a person above the
 level of common labourers. The words
 “*Dear Sir*” indicate that you are speak-
 ing to a *friend*, or at least to an *intimate*
acquaintance; of course to a per-
 son who has not been brought up in the
 habits of *hard labour*. And such a per-

son it is whom you advise and press to
 come to the Illinois with a *hundred*
pounds in his pocket to become a
farmer!

I will pass over the expenses previous
 to this unfortunate man and his family's
 arriving at the Prairies, though those
 expenses will be *double* the amount that
 you state them at. But he arrives with
 450 dollars in his pocket. Of these he
 is to pay down 80 for his land, leaving
 three times that sum to be paid after-
 wards. He has 370 left. And now
 what is he to do? He arrives in *May*.
 So that this family has to cross the sea
 in *winter* and the land in *spring*. There
 they are however, and now what are
 they to *do*? They are to have built for
 50 dollars a house “EXTREMELY
 “COMFORTABLE AND CONVE-
 “NIENT”:—the very words that you
 use in describing the farmer's house,
 that was to cost, with out-buildings,
 1,500 dollars! However, you have de-
 scribed your own *cabin*, whence we may
 gather the meaning which you attach
 to the word *comfortable*. “This cabin
 “is built of round straight logs, about
 “a foot in diameter, lying upon each
 “other, and notched in at the corners,
 “forming a room eighteen feet long by
 “sixteen; the intervals between the
 “logs ‘chunked,’ that is, filled in with
 “slips of wood; and ‘mudded,’ that is,
 “daubed with a plaster of mud; a spa-
 “cious *chimney built also of logs*, stands
 “like a bastion at one end; the roof is
 “well covered with four hundred ‘clap
 “boards’ of cleft oak, very much like
 “the pales used in England for fencing
 “parks. A hole is cut through the side,
 “called, very properly, the ‘*through*,’
 “for which there is a ‘shutter,’ made
 “also of cleft oak and hung on wooden
 “hinges. All this has been executed
 “by contract, and well executed, for
 “*twenty dollars*. I have since added
 “*ten dollars* to the cost for the *luxury*
 “of a *floor and ceiling* of sawn boards,
 “and it is now a *comfortable habita-*
 “*tion*.”

In plain words this is a *log-hut*, such
 as the free negroes live in about here,
 and a hole it is, fit only for dogs, or
 hogs, or cattle. Worse it is than the

negro huts, for they have a bit of *glass*, but here is none. This miserable hole, black with smoke as it always must be, and without any window, costs, however, 30 dollars. And yet this English acquaintance of yours is to have "a *house extremely comfortable and convenient for fifty dollars.*" Perhaps his 50 dollars might get him a hut or hole, a few feet longer and divided into two dens. So that here is to be *cooking, washing, eating, and sleeping* all in the same "extremely convenient and comfortable" hole! And yet, my dear sir, you find fault of the want of *cleanliness* in the *Americans*! You have not seen "the *Americans*." You have not seen the nice, clean, neat houses of the farmers in this island, in New England, in the Quaker counties of Pennsylvania. You have seen nothing but the smoke-dried ultra-mountainians; and your project seems to be to make the deluded English who may follow you rivals in the attainment of the tawny colour. What is this family to do in their 50-dollar den? Suppose one or more of them *sick*! How are the rest to sleep by night or to eat by day?

However, here they are, in this miserable place, with the *ship-bedding*, and without even a bedstead, and with 130 dollars gone in land and house. *Two horses and harness and plough* are to cost 100 dollars! These, like the *hinges* of the door, are all to be of *wood* I suppose; for as to flesh and blood and bones in the form of two horses for 100 dollars, is impossible, to say nothing about the plough and harness, which would cost 20 dollars of the money. Perhaps, however, you may mean some of those horses, ploughs and sets of harness, which, at the time when you wrote this letter, you had *all ready waiting for the spring to put in your hundred acres of corn* that was *never put in at all*! However, let this pass too. Then there are 220 dollars left, and these are to provide *cows, hogs, seed, corn, fencing, and other expenses.* Next come two cows (poor ones) 24 dollars; hogs, 15 dollars; seed corn, 5 dollars; fencing, suppose 20 acres only, in four plots, the stuff brought

from the woods nearest adjoining. Here are 360 rods of fencing, and if it be done so as to keep out a pig, and to keep in a pig, or a horse or cow, for less than half a dollar a rod, I will suffer myself to be made into smoked meat in the extremely comfortable house. Thus, then, here are 213, out of the 220 dollars, and this happy settler has *seven* whole dollars left for all "*other expenses*"; amongst which are the cost of cooking utensils, plates, knives and forks, tables, and stools; for, as to *table-cloths* and *chairs*, those are luxuries unbecoming "simple republicans." But, there must be a *pot* to boil in: or, is that too much? May these republicans have a washing tub? Perhaps, indeed, it will become unnecessary in a short time; for the lice will have eaten up the linen; and besides, perhaps, real *independence* means stark-nakedness. But, at any rate, the hogs must have a *trough*? or, are they to eat at the same board with the family? Talking of *eating* puts me in mind of a great article; for what are the family to *eat* during the *year and more* before their land can produce? For even if they arrive in *May*, they can have *no crop that year.* Why they must graze with the cows in the prairies, or snuggle with the hogs in the woods. An *oven*! Childish effeminacy! Oh! unleavened bread for your life. *Bread*, did I say? Where is the "independent" family to get bread? Oh! no! Grass and acorns and roots! and, God be praised, you have plenty of water in your wells, though, perhaps, the family, with all their "*independence*," must be compelled to depend on your leave to get it, and fetch it half a mile into the bargain.

To talk seriously upon such a subject is impossible, without dealing in terms of reprobation, which it would give me great pain to employ when speaking of any act of yours. Indeed such a family will be *free*; but the Indians are free, and so are the gipsies in England. And I most solemnly declare, that I would sooner live the life of a gipsy in England, than be a settler, with less than five thousand pounds, in the Illinois; and if I had the five thousand pounds,

and was resolved to exchange England for America, what in the name of common sense should induce me to go into a wild country, when I could buy a good farm, of 200 acres, with fine orchard and good house and out-buildings, and stock it completely, and make it rich as a garden, within twenty miles of a great sea-port, affording me a ready market and a high price for every article of my produce?

You have, *by this time*, seen more than you had seen when you wrote your "Letters from the Illinois." You would not, I am convinced, write such letters *now*. But, lest you should not do it, it is right that somebody should counteract their delusive effects; and this I endeavour to do as much for the sake of this country as for that of my own countrymen. For a good while I remained silent, hoping that few people would be deluded; but when I heard that an old friend and brother sportsman, a sensible, honest frank, and friendly man, in *Oxfordshire*, whom I will not name, had been seized with the Illinois madness, and when I recollected that he was one of those who came to *visit me in prison*, I could no longer hold my tongue: for if a man like him, a man of his sound understanding, could be carried away by your representations, to what an extent must the rage have gone!

Mr. HULME visited you with the most friendly feelings. He agrees with you perfectly as to notions about forms of government. He *wished* to give a good account of your proceedings. His account is favourable; but his *facts*, which I am sure are true, let out what I could not have known for certainty from any other quarter. However, I do not care a farthing for the *degrees* of goodness or of badness; I say, all new countries are *all badness* for *English farmers*. I say that *their* place is near the great cities on the coast; and that every step they go beyond forty miles from those cities is a step *too far*. They want freedom: they have it here. They want good land, good roads, good markets: they have them all here. What should they run rambling about a nation-making

for? What have they to do about extending dominion and "taming the wilderness"? If they speculate upon becoming founders of republics, they will indeed do well to get out of the reach of rivals. If they have a thirst for power, they will naturally seek to be amongst the least informed part of mankind. But, if they only want to keep their property and live well, they will take up their abode on this side of the mountains at least.

The *grand ideas* about the *extension of the empire* of the United States are of very questionable soundness; and they become more questionable from being echoed by the *Edinburgh Reviewers*, a set of the meanest politicians that ever touched pen and paper. Upon any great question, they never have been right, even by *accident*, which is very hard! The *rapid* extension of settlements to the west of the mountains, is, in my opinion, by no means, favourable to the duration of the present happy union. The conquest of Canada would have been as dangerous, but not more dangerous. A nation is never so strong and so safe as when its extreme points feel for each other as acutely as each feels for itself; and this never can be when all are not equally exposed to every danger; and especially when all the parts have not the *same interests*. In case of a war with England what would become of your market down the Mississippi? That is your sole market. That way your produce must go; or you must dress yourself in skins and tear your food to bits with your hands. Yet that way your produce could not go, unless this nation were to keep up a navy equal to that of England. Defend the country against invaders I know the people always will; but I am not sure that they will like internal taxes sufficient to rear and support a navy sufficient to clear the Gulf of Mexico of English squadrons. In short, it is my decided opinion, that the sooner the banks of the Ohio, the Wabash, and the Mississippi are pretty thickly settled, the sooner the *union* will be placed in jeopardy. If a war were to break out with England, even in a few years, the lands of which

the Mississippi is the outlet would lose a great part of their value. Who does not see in this fact a great cause of *disunion*? On this side the mountains, there are twelve hundred miles of coast to blockade; but you, gentlemen prairie-owners, are like a rat that has but one hole to go out and to come in at. You express your deep-rooted attachment to your adopted country, and I am sure you are sincere; but, still I may be allowed to doubt, whether you would cheerfully wear bear-skins, and gnaw your meat off the bones, for the sake of any commercial right that the nation might go to war about. I know that you would not *starve*; for coffee and tea are not necessary to man's existence; but, you would like to sell your flour and pork, and would be very apt to discover reasons against a war that would prevent you from selling them. You appear to think it very wicked in the Atlantic people to feel little eagerness in promoting the increase of population to the westward; but you see, that in this want of such eagerness, they may be actuated by a real love for their country. For my part, I think it would have been good policy in the Congress not to dispose of the western lands at all; and I am sure it would have been an act of real charity.

Having now performed what I deemed my duty towards my countrymen, and towards this country too, I will conclude my letter with a few observations, relative to *mills*, which may be of use to you; for, I know, that you will *go on*; and, indeed, I most sincerely wish you all the success that you can wish yourself, without doing harm to others.

TRIAL.

THE subject of the following trial has deeply interested, and indeed, it has agitated for months past the whole of the western part of Surrey. The result was, it seems, hailed at Godalming with all those demonstrations of joy which are usually exhibited on account of some great national triumph! If Mr. MELLERSH has suffered pain at the thought of being dragged into court on such a

charge, he appears to have received ample compensation in the testimony of universal respect, an expression of which the occasion has called forth.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

THE KING AGAINST MELLERSH.

This was an indictment against Mr. Mellersh a most respectable banker and solicitor at Godalming, for certain perjuries alleged to have been committed by the defendant in an answer put in by him to an amended bill in the Court of Chancery, wherein he swore that a certain sum, secured by the bond of a Mr. Richard Smith, dated in December 1827, and given to Mr. Mellersh in his own name, was given and paid by the said Richard Smith for Mr. Mellersh individually, and not for the firm of Mellersh, Kidd, and Kidd, bankers at Godalming.

Sir JAMES SCARLETT addressed the jury on the part of the prosecution, and proceeded to call his witnesses. After the bill and answers were put in and read, the prosecutor, Mr. Benjamin Kidd, was called, and he produced a memorandum and two letters in Mr. Mellersh's hand writing to a contrary effect to that which was sworn in the answer. One of the letters was a mutilated document, and the prosecutor could not say when he received it, when he mutilated it, though he admitted he had torn it; what were the contents of that which he tore off; but he admitted that he had known of the existence of that and the other documents ever since the partnership had been dissolved, which was subsequent to the date of the bond, and yet had executed a deed of dissolution, which professed to contain a statement of all the debts due to the partnership, in which, however, this was not stated; that he had filed his first bill in Chancery without at all alluding to it, although the bill was filed for the purpose of getting in all the outstanding accounts, and that it was not alluded to until he filed his amended bill, stating in it that the bond was a recent discovery, and which was not filed until Smith, the person who had given and paid the bond, had died and could give no evidence upon it. He admitted he had quarrelled with the defendant; that on the bill of indictment being found he had given instructions to Mr. Binns, his attorney, to publish an account of it in the papers; that he had moved for a bench warrant instantly for the arrest of the defendant; that he had gone to Union Hall-office to get it backed by the magistrates; that the office being closed he had gone to the magistrates, to whom he was known, to get it backed by them; that he and his attorney Binns went down in the night together to Godalming to be there to see the defendant taken the next day, when a large fair (Saint Catherine's Hill) was to be held in the neighbourhood; that he had exulted in it and boasted of it in various places; that he felt for his friend, and yet he did exult that he had him in his power; that he had published

it at Catherine Hill Fair; that he had said to one person that the defendant had managed it badly—he should have sworn so and so, and he would have been safe; and to another that he might have sworn a different way, and he would have also been safe; and that he had often, up to the dissolution, talked to the defendant about the sum that was coming to the partnership from the bond; that he had felt a great desire to see the bond, and yet had never asked to see it, although he had had copies of all the other partnership securities.

The next witness called was a man of the name of William Poulter, who admitted having been in the service of Benjamin Kidd, but since the finding of the bill had started as a land surveyor, appraiser, auctioneer, &c. He stated that he had heard the defendant over and over again state that the bond was for the partnership, and that it was sure to be available; but that whenever he addressed the defendant he was violent, and declared that Kidd should never have a farthing. He admitted that he had gone the day after the bill was found to Chiddingfold, and there stated that the defendant had had a bill found against him for perjury, and that all the devils in hell and all the angels in heaven could not save him from conviction. That he had heard that Sir James Scarlett, Mr. Adolphus, and another, the three most eminent counsel in England, had said that the defendant would be transported for seven years, and that his property would be confiscated, and that he had the means of compromising on condition that defendant would go twenty miles from Godalming and not practise as a solicitor or banker within that distance; that he had a great friendship for the defendant Mr. Mellersh; and that the prosecutor Mr. Benjamin Kidd, had, on one occasion since the finding of the bill, paid more than 50*l.* for him when he was arrested, being the debt and costs; that he had made over all his property for the benefit of his creditors, but as yet nothing had been realized.

Several other witnesses were called to prove the formal part of the prosecutor's case, but whose testimony did not go to the merits.

When Mr. John Smith was called, he stated that he was one of the executors of Richard Smith, the obligor in the bond, and that Richard Smith was his uncle. That on one occasion, when his uncle and Mr. Mellersh were together, and previous to the execution of the bond, he came into the room where they were; that the defendant Mr. Mellersh said to him, "John, your uncle wishes to pay me what I have lost by your brother Richard, but I won't take it, as I am afraid it would injure his other nephews and nieces; but I tell your uncle, that if he means to give anything to Richard at his death I shall have no objection to take it out of his share." That witness thanked the defendant, and went home and told his (witness's) wife that Mr. Mellersh had acted very like a gentleman.

Mr. James Limbert, the other executor of

the obligor, was then called, and he proved that he was clerk to Messrs. Mellersh and Co., solicitors, and had been so for upwards of twenty years. That he was present when Mr. Richard Smith executed the bond, and that he was the attesting witness to it. That the bond was given to Mr. Mellersh individually, and that, on its being executed, was put by Mr. Mellersh with his own private papers. That no charge was made for preparing the bond, but that Mr. Mellersh paid two pounds for the stamp out of his own private pocket. That in February, 1833, by the desire of Mr. Mellersh, he took the bond with an account of the interest then due to Mr. Smith, who, after looking at the account, said he was very glad to pay the money, as he always meant that Mr. Mellersh should not be a loser by his nephew Richard's misconduct, and he considered he was paying a debt of honour to an old friend. That he gave a cheque for the amount in Mr. Mellersh's name, and burnt the bond. That he communicated what passed to Mr. Mellersh when he returned home, and repeated to him whilst he was preparing his answer.

The Attorney-General addressed the jury on the part of the defendant, and stated that it was clear the bond was a voluntary bond on the part of Mr. Smith, the obligor. That he was not a creditor of the partnership. That it was given to Mr. Mellersh individually, and that the name of the firm of the Kidds was never mentioned. That Richard Smith, the obligor, was the personal friend of the defendant, and not of the prosecutors. That it had been distinctly proved in evidence that the obligor paid the money for Mr. Mellersh individually, and as a debt of honour, to save an old friend from loss in consequence of the misconduct of his (Smith's) nephew; and that from the whole tenor of the transaction there could be no doubt of Richard Smith's intention. He commented in the most severe and indignant terms on the conduct and testimony of the prosecutor Benjamin Kidd and his witness Poulter, and stated, that although he felt satisfied that in point of law the defendant could not be convicted on the evidence, still he could not avail himself of that objection, as nothing would satisfy the defendant short of an acquittal by a jury upon the merits of the case. The defendant had then an array of witnesses consisting of several peers, the Lord Mayor of London, many magistrates, and country gentlemen, merchants, bankers, solicitors, and others who spoke to his character for integrity, veracity, and honour, in terms of the most flattering commendation, and in a way that has been seldom witnessed in a court of justice.

The Lord Chief Justice, Lord Deaman, then proceeded to address the jury as follows:—

Gentlemen of the jury, this is an indictment for perjury which has been preferred against a gentleman of the name of Thomas Mellersh, the perjury being supposed to have been com-

mitted in an answer in Chancery to a bill which charges him with not having performed specifically a covenant for recovering money due to the partnership in which he had been engaged. The partnership consisted of himself, Mr. Benjamin Kidd, and Mr. Richard Kidd, who separated about the year 1828; and in the deed of separation each partner was to do the best he could to obtain the debts due to the firm. And the charge is, that he untruly stated, in an amended answer in Chancery to a bill filed against him, and afterwards amended, that Richard Smith did, in the month of December 1827, execute a bond, in the penal sum of 390*l.*, to secure the sum of 195*l.* and interest for his own individual benefit; actually for the benefit of the prisoner (the defendant), and in which Benjamin Kidd and Richard Kidd, the partners of this gentleman, had no interest. Now, in the first place, it is said that the bond was untruly sworn to have been given on his own account; and in the second place, that the bond was untruly sworn to have been paid on his own account, but that on the contrary it was given to him for the benefit of the partnership, and the amount was paid to him for the use of the said partnership. Now, gentlemen, you have heard a character given of this gentleman (who is a professional man), which is of the very highest description that any man in society can possibly receive; and I must state further to you, when you are trying a case of this nature, you ought to bear in mind that you are trying a person who has conducted himself in so excellent a way as to enjoy the good opinion of persons as numerous and respectable as could possibly be called to give a character to any man. I do not go through the particulars now, gentlemen, and probably shall not, because you cannot possibly have forgotten them, and the impression that has been made upon you is doubtless well founded; and on the other hand I think I may observe to you generally that the circumstances of this prosecution do not appear to have been founded on the best motives, and conducted on the fairest principles; and I think I may say, without the fear of contradiction, that a good deal of the contrary feeling has been shown, because Mr. Benjamin Kidd has shown a good deal of angry feeling and vindictiveness which, sitting in this place, I think it impossible for me to hear without reprobation; and it was shown in this way, namely, when the bill of indictment was preferred at the Quarter Sessions of the peace for Middlesex, Mr. Kidd, instead of allowing it to find its own way in the world, as I think he ought to have done, and allowing it to come on for trial in this court, took the most extravagant pains, and manifested the most eager desire to make the thing public, and he took the trouble to go about the country in a most unusual manner, trumpeting about the fact that the jury had found a true bill against Mr. Mellersh, which could only have the effect of putting him upon his trial, and was no proof

of his guilt, and therefore I must add (connected as he was with other persons), he appears to have been actuated by motives which appear to me to do him no credit. It was an object with Mr. Kidd that Mr. Mellersh should not continue to carry on his business any longer (which was that of an eminent banker) in the town in which he was so highly respected, and the way in which the object was endeavoured to be effected was under the pretence of some favour to be shown to him, the proceedings were not to go any further—that is, he is to submit to the infamy of acquiescing in the charge without being brought to public trial on the condition that he would retire, and would not appear again in this part of the world. Now, gentlemen, I put this circumstance strongly before you in the first instance for the purpose of making this observation. It appears to me that the evidence by which this offence is sought to be proved against the defendant does not depend, in any material degree at least, upon the conduct of the prosecutors; their motives have been extremely culpable, and worthy of the highest reprobation, yet it may not affect the evidence upon which reliance may be placed to make this charge out, because the evidence principally, if not entirely, is evidence in the hand-writing of Mr. Mellersh himself, and there can be no doubt that the writing is his, and therefore whatever bad motives, and whatever mercenary and unworthy views they might have been actuated by, and which could be laid before you of their conduct, still the evidence which really goes to affect him with the charge is quite independent of any proposition as to their conduct, and therefore those circumstances cannot affect it at all. A person of the name of Richard Smith, who is called before you as one of the witnesses, had given his bill to the bankers at Godalming, consisting of three persons, the two Kidds and Mr. Mellersh. This bill, bearing date on the 14th of November, 1825, by which three months after date he calls upon Lloyd to pay to his order a sum of 192*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*, which was discounted at the bank, and that the fact appears that Smith had it from the bank under the pretence of handing it over to Lloyd's assignees (he having become a bankrupt) for their benefit, and for the benefit of the creditors of the concern; and that it appears instead of handing it over to them he gives it to a person of the name of Sandell, who was a stationer in London, and he procured from him upon this bill something to the amount of half the value; paper to the amount of 10*s.* in the pound was what he received, and the fact was, that he committed a gross breach of trust with reference to this bill, which he obtained half the value of, instead of doing what he ought to have done; so that he had got the full value from the bankers, and they never got anything in return for it. It appears, in consequence of that, that Mr. Mellersh sees the uncle of this man—the uncle was his friend and his client—and it appears that he made

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some application to him, and that the uncle undertook to pay the debt which the nephew had incurred, and to give a bond for that purpose. So it appears from the memorandum and letters which have been put in, and which are in the hand-writing of the defendant, and these documents you will have to pay particular attention to. The first of them is the memorandum which Mr. Kidd says Mr. Mellersh put into his hands on the occasion when he was going to town, and you will see what sort of memorandum it is, and there is this writing upon the foot, Richard Smith obtained the bill which the Bank held a security for 192*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* for the purpose of showing it to Sandell to prove that Lloyd was indebted in that sum; but Smith, after making this false pretence, went and delivered up the bill to Sandell for papers supposed to be equal to 10*s.* in the pound—namely, 96*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* Some of the paper Smith had, but a part was left in Sandell's hands: now Sandell should deliver up that paper or say what he would pay for it. Those are the instructions which Mr. Mellersh puts into the hands of Kidd on some occasion when he went to town, and clearly before the uncle had given compensation for this bill. I must observe here that it was quite in the option of Smith, the uncle, to do anything of that sort that he might think proper; and further that he was not bound to pay the debts of his nephew, and if so he was clearly at liberty to deal with the whole of the partners or any one partner if he chose; and you will recollect it is proved that Mr. Mellersh was his attorney, and therefore possibly he might have been the person that the uncle chose to secure. Now this appears to be part of some other matter; there are lines between it, and you will see it appears that that is not the whole, but that there is no doubt that it is all that could be supposed to be wanted with reference to this question, for there is the memorandum of what Mr. Kidd had to do when he got to London. Now, gentlemen, I should observe here upon this question, that it seems to me upon the ground that there is not sufficient legal evidence before you of the facts of this matter, because, if these papers in the result convince you that Mr. Mellersh has upon his oath stated what is untrue, it appears to me, coming from more witnesses than one, they are properly conveyed to you. I say this with a double purpose, because, if there is a conviction in this case, the learned counsel will distinctly take a note of it in case an objection should arise, and in case I should be incorrect; and on the other hand, if you should think the defendant not guilty, it will be much more satisfactory to every body that the acquittal shall proceed upon your views of the merits, and not upon the mere legal machinery which operates upon the Court. Now, gentlemen, the second document is one which is presented under very peculiar circumstances: it has been torn in half, and kept in a shaving-box for a considerable series of years in the custody of Mr.

Kidd, and he was very properly and minutely cross-examined with respect to this. He gave an account of it, which I own, speaking generally of transactions with regard to pieces of paper, does not appear to me to be improbable:—he says he was about to wipe his razor, and upon looking at it he saw something that he thought of some importance, and therefore he thought he would keep this paper. He never thought of it, and he kept it in a drawer, and from time to time looking at it; never used it; and he always kept it; and lately, for safe custody, put it into the hands of his wife, and that was the way in which it was preserved; that is, in short, the general terms of his statement. That which he thought not important he tore off; and, looking simply at the fact of the safety, it does not strike me (but that is for your consideration) as any thing improbable. Now, with regard to this piece of paper: in the first place, I should have thought it extremely proper that any person who thought it worth while to keep a piece of paper of this kind ought altogether to have preserved it whole, or have made an accurate copy of the whole, so as to show distinctly what it was that this paper contained; because, it is proper to say, you have only here a paragraph taken out of a letter, which cannot be deemed so satisfactory as the inspection of the whole, or at least a copy, where that is not possible. So that, gentlemen, in the first place, you are to consider this, not as a complete writing, which has been elicited from the evidence. Now, the paper is in these words, "I saw Mr. Richard Smith, the uncle, to-day, and he said, we should not lose the amount of the bill of 192*l.* 15*s.*, and talked that I should make his will, and secure it; but I mean to get him to give a bond payable at his death with interest, and it will come to us then." So that it appears most undoubtedly he is speaking of this as a joint loss which had fallen on the partnership, which there is no doubt it had. He says, Smith has promised we shall not lose the amount of the bill of 192*l.* 15*s.*, and talked that I should make his will and secure it. That however is unsatisfactory, because a will is always revokable; and then he says, but I mean to get him to give a bond payable at some future time. So that you observe, gentlemen, he speaks of *us* and *we* in a manner which in the first place points to it as a security for three, and not for himself alone. Well, gentlemen, you have heard a great number of questions put upon that paper: in the first place Kidd states he has no recollection whatever of what was in the paper; whether it contained anything relating to the subject of the trial he forgets, and he cannot tell. Then he is asked a great deal with respect to the purpose for which he kept it; and it is quite obvious he only kept it considering it of some importance, which it could only be as showing the joint interest of all the three partners. *How is it he never asked Mr. Mellersh to let him see the terms in which the bond was*

given to him, and the particulars that took place? Still more so I should say, how is it when they were separating, and arranging, and collecting their debts, that he never brought forward this paper and the other documents to show the debt from Smith? That was a considerable debt to them all. And ultimately when the prosecutors made their charge in the bill in Chancery, that the partnership agreement had not been completed, why did they not charge Mr. Smith's debt as one of the things which had not been taken into account? That question has been very ingeniously argued by the learned counsel at the bar, as it appears to me. You will confine the observation as to the conduct of Kidd as showing, if he could not draw the inference from these papers then, that there was the joint obligation, how can they prove it in a case coming now, at a distance of so many years, and after so many opportunities of looking at those papers? How can you be called on now to infer from them that a gentleman of this very high character shall actually have committed perjury? Now, gentlemen, there is also in the other paper, in which he writes to him upon the subject of this same bond after he had actually obtained it—that letter is in the terms you have heard, and which I will again read—he mentions something about the fish, and then he says, “Richard Smith, senior, has signed the bond for 195*l*. to me individually, &c. &c.” He wishes it not to be considered that the bond had been given by the uncle, in the name of the firm, in order to guard against its being connected with the bankruptcy. Now, gentlemen, I find it impossible to say that that would not naturally excite in the mind of Mr. Kidd the expectation that this gentleman had taken the bond undoubtedly for the benefit of the firm. He says in the postscript, “Richard Smith's bond carries interest.” There is nothing that gets rid of that impression in this letter: it is written in December, 1827, and it talks of the bond as if it were a joint one. Now, gentlemen, I believe these are all the documents that took place about the time of the bond. In order to meet that it is said that Smith, the uncle, may have selected Mr. Mellersh, who was his friend, as the object of his indemnity against the loss of the partnership, and by his signing it in the way it is signed, they say it shows that he must have intended it to be for Mr. Mellersh individually, for the purpose of exonerating him from any loss, and not for payment of the debt to the firm; and therefore, gentlemen, you are to see whether you can infer so distinctly from this statement that the bond was given for 195*l*. for him individually. The statement is, that Mr. Mellersh takes it altogether for himself, without any regard to the partnership, and without any intention that it should be taken for them, but for his own individual security. Now there is no paper writing of any description stating that it was given in trust for the whole of the parties, and it does not appear that either of the partners did at

any time call upon him to state that it was on their account; nor do they furnish evidence of that description. I think there are various ways of considering this case; for it is quite possible, notwithstanding the statements in writing with reference to the bond, and notwithstanding Mr. Mellersh expressed his intention that it should be for the benefit of the partnership, it is quite probable that it still may have been intended for the benefit of Mr. Mellersh alone; and it is very probable as to that fact that explanations were given between December, 1827, when this last note was sent, and the period when they began to speak about the common concerns and the dissolution of the partnership, which completely proved that it was for Mr. Mellersh's own benefit. The dissolution took place in November, 1828, or rather, I believe, a little earlier; then it was the partnership was dissolved, and the deed of that date was put in, in which there is a schedule containing a list of what debts were due to the firm, and no notice is taken of this debt; and certainly if the partners considered that Smith was liable on his bond, or at least if Mellersh was a trustee for them all, one would have thought that was the proper time to have noticed it: they would then, too, have naturally made a demand of the bond; that it was not made we have distinct evidence; if it had been made, it is quite possible that some explanation might have been given which would have led to an inquiry of Smith in his lifetime; and we do not even know that Mr. Kidd has not so satisfied any curiosity that might have been excited by that note. Therefore, that note which has been given in, proves in my mind, nothing material. On the 14. of November, 1828, Mr. Mellersh writes a letter to Mr. Kidd, in these words—“Sir, on the other side is an account of the outstanding debts due to the old concern, &c. &c.” It is written in rather cold language after the intimate terms they had been upon, and there was (no doubt) discussions took place, which must have left unpleasant traces behind. This memorandum contains a list of debts, in which Smith's bond is also not mentioned. It seems that Mr. Mellersh was very desirous of having the thing put upon a footing of settlement; he says he hopes Mr. Kidd will make the offer of a sum certain, and take the whole of the debts exclusively to himself, upon the understanding that, if Mr. Mellersh rejects the offer, he, Mr. Kidd, should be at liberty to take an assignment of the debts to himself. Certainly there could be no better arrangement, the party who takes the debts would be enabled to pursue his own course, and he would be at liberty to use the name of the firm for the recovery of them; so that this is certainly an offer which shows they had separated their interest upon the subject, and which shows that Mr. Mellersh was desirous to get in the whole of the outstanding debts, and put one of the partners in the condition of recovering those debts. That seems to have formed a very proper opportunity for Mr.

Kidd, if he thought that Smith had given a bond for the benefit of all, to have mentioned it, and he should have said, why this list of the outstanding debts is imperfect. There is no mention of Mr. Smith's bond; I demand to see it. I cannot conceive why he stops till after the first bill was filed, nor does it occur to me naturally why he should have withheld that sort of demand, unless he knew it would then have been met with some satisfactory explanation. It strikes me so; but that is for you to consider. Then, gentlemen, the matters go on till the year 1832; and Mr. Kidd, without being reduced to the necessity of taking any hostile proceeding in the year 1832, files a bill in Chancery, and Mr. Mellersh is called upon to state all the particulars which he had covenanted to do by the deed of dissolution, and it gives a statement of all the debts due to the partnership. Now in the first bill there is not a word said about this bond, although it professes to mention all the debts due to the partnership. The first bill was filed in October, 1832. Well then, Mr. Mellersh puts in his answer on the 6. February, 1833, and in that answer of course nothing can be said about the bond because there is no charge made in the bill with respect to it; but the bill is amended on the 18. of June, 1833, and the amendment is neither more nor less than the introduction of a statement that Smith had given Mr. Mellersh that bond for the benefit of the partnership, and they say that this was recently discovered, but they do not state in what respect or how it was discovered, and none of the witnesses gave any account of the circumstance. *The bond could not have come upon them by surprise in the year 1833, which now in the year 1834 they seek to prove by no other documents than those which they possessed in 1827 and 1828. I cannot discover any alteration in the state of things except that Smith had died.* He had died in the beginning of that year, there was therefore nothing *prima facie* to show why they should now mention the bond, unless it was now there was not the opportunity of resorting to Smith. I can discover no other motive; the amended answer is put in on the 16. of August, and in that answer it is that the perjury is supposed to have been committed by the fact that the defendant swore that the bond was executed by Smith to him individually, and paid to him individually, and not for the benefit of all three partners. Now, gentlemen, I have observed upon the probability of the matter, and I have made such remarks as have occurred to me, and supposing that Mr. Mellersh held this bond really with a secret trust in his own mind that it should be for the benefit of the partnership, in the first instance, and with a wish to consider them all equally interested, perhaps it may occur to you that the great coldness and the great hostility which afterwards took place between them, might lead him to repent of his intended liberality, and avail himself, in consequence of all that he could justly ob-

tain of the debt that was due to him. If there had been a trust created, it appears to me that naturally it would have appeared in writing; and if there were no trust he has only stated the truth in saying that he held it on his own account. Now, with regard to the document itself, it might have stated the parties who were beneficially interested, but it is proved it was given to Mr. Mellersh individually. But, on the other hand, with regard to the second point, namely, the proof that the payment was made to him individually, although the clerk of Mr. Mellersh, Mr. Limbert, cannot be supposed to be an interested witness, but, on the contrary, you may fairly suppose that a clerk who has lived for twenty years in the office of an attorney of such high character as this gentleman, Mr. Mellersh, has borne, is a character of itself. He distinctly swears that he was the person who was in communication with Mr. Smith, and that he actually desired him to pay the money, with expressions of the most friendly acknowledgments to Mr. Mellersh himself individually, treating it as a debt of honour, and he expressed the greatest satisfaction at being able to do so; so that, with regard to that fact, the fact of payment by Mr. Smith to Mr. Mellersh individually, you have distinct proof that Mr. Smith paid it with that view. With regard to the fact of whom he intended to benefit when he gave the bond, you have the evidence of the bond itself, from which it would appear that he gave it for Mr. Mellersh exclusively; and yet it is contended that you are to collect from these documents that there is something so clear to demonstrate it was for the benefit of the partners, that Mr. Mellersh must necessarily have been forswearing himself, when he gave, in his answer, the account which he gave respecting this bond. Now, gentlemen, that is the case which has been encountered by no evidence on the part of the defendant, but you have heard the high and honourable character that has been given of him, and you are to say whether you are satisfied that Mr. Mellersh did *this* wilfully and corruptly, with a knowledge of the fact that the bond was intended for his partners, and for the purpose of defrauding his former partners. I have endeavoured to go through the leading facts of the case. I have put the question generally before you, but if you desire it I am entirely at your service to go through the whole of the evidence; or if there is any part of the evidence that has made an impression upon your minds, upon which you would wish to refresh your recollection, I am at your service to return to that part of it. I believe, as far as I recollect, I have stated the whole of the leading facts of the case, so as to describe the few points in the way which they appear to present themselves most clearly, and you are to say whether, upon that statement, you are satisfied that Mr. Mellersh has not only stated what is untrue, but has done it wilfully and corruptly, and with the fraudulent intent imputed to him by this indictment. If you think

that that is made out, then certainly Mr. Mel-
lersh is guilty; if otherwise, or if you enter-
tain a doubt, you will, of course, give the pri-
soner that acquittal which every man is en-
titled to when a case of this nature rests upon
doubt.

The jury returned a verdict of *Not Guilty*.

On the announcement of the verdict it was
received with acclamations by a crowded
auditory, the expression of which was with
difficulty suppressed by the officers of the
court.

[There is an inaccuracy in the report, in
not showing that the amount for which the
bond was given was only HALF (Mr. Mel-
lersh's own share) of the debt the firm has lost
by young Smith.]

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 30.—

The arrivals fresh up to this morning's market
were moderate from Essex and Suffolk, and
limited from Kent. The bulk of the large
supplies coastways during the past week, hav-
ing gone direct into the hands of the millers,
has prevented the stands from exhibiting any
extensive show of samples. The market to-
day was thinly attended, and millers being in
stock, the trade ruled heavy at a decline on
the rates of this day week of 1s. to 2s. for all
descriptions. Nothing doing in bonded Corn.

Some parcels of Irish Barley having arrived,
added to a moderate supply from other quar-
ters, which, proving more than adequate to
the demand, caused the trade to be dull, and
grinding qualities could have been obtained
at a decline of 1s. per quarter. For bonded
parcels no inquiry.

Malt dull sale, but prices sustained no al-
teration.

The arrivals of foreign Oats have been large
during the past week, and since the return on
Saturday, several cargoes have come to hand,
as well as Irish and Scotch. Dealers and con-
sumers holding off the market, anticipating
lower rates from augmented supplies, caused
the article to hang on hand, unless a decline
of 1s. per quarter was submitted to on English
and Irish qualities, and 1s. to 1s. 6d. on Scotch
qualities. This depression in the free article
communicated a heaviness over Oats in bond,
and little business was in consequence trans-
acted. Some of the arrivals from Friesland of
Brew Oats prove of fine quality, and are held
at 17s. to 19s.

Beans are in better supply, and were diffi-
cult of disposal at a decline of full 1s. per
quarter from Monday.

Peas continue scarce, but the trade was less
animated and prices dull. Some fine qualities
in bond have obtained 38s. and even 40s. is
demanded.

Fresh ship marks of Flour were saleable at
last week's currency.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	44s. to 50s.
— White	48s. to 55s.
— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, } and Yorkshire.....	40s. to 46s.
— White, ditto	44s. to 51s.
— West Country red.....	44s. to 47s.
— White, ditto	48s. to 50s.
— Northumberland and } Berwickshire red..	38s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
— Moray, Angus, and } Rothshire red.....	36s. to 42s.
— White, ditto	42s. to 44s.
— Irish red	36s. to 40s.
— White, ditto	38s. to 43s.
Barley, Malting	30s. to 32s.
— Chevalier	30s. to 32s.
— Distilling	29s. to 30s.
— Grinding	27s. to 29s.
Malt, new	37s. to 47s.
— Norfolk, pale.....	50s. to 56s.
— Ware	52s. to 58s.
Peas, Hog and Grey	38s. to 40s.
— Maple	39s. to 43s.
— White Boilers	40s. to 48s.
Beans, Small	33s. to 38s.
— Harrow	32s. to 37s.
— Tick	31s. to 35s.
Oats, English Feed	24s. to 26s.
— Short, small	25s. to 27s.
— Poland	24s. to 28s.
— Scotch, common	23s. to 25s.
— — Potato	26s. to 28s.
— — Berwick	24s. to 27s.
— Irish, Galway, &c.	22s. to 23s.
— — Potato	24s. to 25s.
— — Black	23s. to 25s.
Brau, per 16 bushels	10s. to 13s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 46s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 62s.
— Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland ...	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, June 30.

This day's supply of Sheep, Lambs, and
Calves was good; its supply of Beasts and
Porkers rather limited. Trade was on the
whole tolerably brisk, say with beef at an ad-
vance of from 2d. to 4d. Mutton and Veal 2d.
per stone, with Lamb and Pork at fully Fri-
day's quotations.